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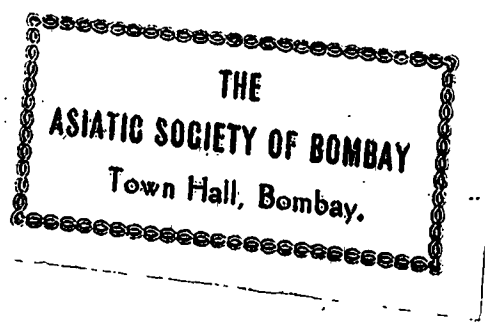

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SELECTIONS

FROM THE

KUR-ÁN,

COMMONLY CALLED, IN ENGLAND,

THE KORAN;

WITH AN

INTERWOVEN COMMENTARY;

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC, METHODICALLY ARRANGED, AND ILLUSTRATED BY NOTES, CHIEFLY FROM SALE'S EDITION:

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

AN INTRODUCTION,

TAKEN FROM SALE'S PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE,

WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS:

BY

EDWARD WILLIAM LANE,

AUTHOR OF "THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE MODERN EGYPTIANS,"
AND TRANSLATOR OF "THE THOUSAND AND ONE NIGHTS."

"Knowledge of a part is better than ignorance of the whole."—*Abu-l-Fida.*

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PREFACE.

"THERE are," says Dr. Johnson, "two objects of curiosity—the Christian world, and the Mahometan world: all the rest may be considered as barbarous."

That such is the case, most persons, probably, will admit. Then why is the Ḳur-án so much neglected in this country, while we possess a translation of it in our own language, celebrated for its general accuracy, and enriched with an abundance of learned and curious notes? To this it may be answered:—

First, the arrangement of its contents perplexes and fatigues the most patient of readers by a real or apparent want of connexion.—Secondly, the book abounds with passages unintelligible without explanations which are not given in Sale's version.—Thirdly, to a large class of readers it is a book absolutely prohibited; for, being a code of ritual, moral, civil, and criminal law, as well as a rule of faith, it is unfit for the perusal of a modest female who does not regard it as the word of God.

But if there are many intelligent and inquisitive persons who have never opened the Ḳur-án, or who have been deterred from proceeding far in its perusal, there

of the sect of the Sháfe'ees, one of the four great Sunnee sects, which esteem each other orthodox in all essential points.

For the text, I have generally followed the excellent edition of Fluegel;[a] but unimportant various readings I have seldom noticed.

In the Introduction, which is almost wholly taken from Sale's valuable Preliminary Discourse, slight variations and additions which I have made are not distinguished as such: others, however, are inclosed in brackets.

In writing Arabic words in the present work, I have employed (as I did in my Translation of the Thousand and One Nights, and for reasons there stated) a system congenial with our language, and of the most simple kind. This system requires but little explanation: the general reader may be directed to pronounce

a as in our word "beggar:"[b]	i as in "bid:"
á as in "father:"[c]	o as in "obey" (short):
e as in "bed:"	ó as in "bone:"
é as in "there:"	oo as in "boot:"
ee as in "bee:"	ow as in "down:"
ei as our word "eye:"	u as in "bull:"
ey as in "they:"	y as in "you:"

enough to say, when he has translated notes by the latter, and merely mentioned the names of Arabic authors from whom they are taken. This he has done, at least in many cases, without consulting the original authorities, unless he and Marracci have made the same mistakes, which is improbable.

[a] Quarto: Lipsiæ: 1834.

[b] Strictly speaking, it has a sound between that of a in "bad" and that of u in "bud;" sometimes approximating more to the former, and sometimes to the latter.

[c] Its sound, however, often approximates to that of a in "ball."

An *apostrophe*, when immediately preceding or following a vowel, I employ to denote the place of a letter which has no equivalent in our alphabet: it has a guttural sound, like that which is heard in the bleating of sheep: ạ represents the same sound in cases in which it is more forcibly pronounced: and each of the *consonants* distinguished by a *dot* beneath has a peculiarly hard sound. Having avoided as much as possible making use of accents, I must request the reader to bear in mind, that a single vowel, when not marked with an accent, is always short; and that a double vowel, or a diphthong, at the end of a word, when not so marked, is not accented ("Bedawee," for instance, being pronounced "Bĕ'dawee," or "Bed'awee"): also, that the accent does not always denote the principal or only emphasis ("Dáood" being pronounced "Dáoód"); and that dh, gh, kh, sh, and th, when not divided by a hyphen, represent, each, a single Arabic letter.[a]

E.W.L.

P.S.—Those who desire a concise (yet comprehensive) account of the most remarkable of the events and opinions to which the Ḳur-án has given rise, may read with much advantage Dr. W. C. Taylor's volume entitled "The History of Mohammedanism and its Sects."

[a] Dh is pronounced as th in "that:" gh represents a guttural sound like that produced in gargling: kh represents a guttural sound like that which is produced in expelling saliva from the throat, and approaching nearer to the sound of ḥ (a very strong aspirate) than to that of k: sh is pronounced as in "shall:" and th, as in "thin."

INTRODUCTION,

TAKEN FROM

SALE'S PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE,

WITH

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

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§ I. Of the Arabs before Mohammad.

¶ 1. The Arabs, and the country they inhabit (which themselves call Jezeeret il-'Arab, or the Peninsula of the Arabs, but we, Arabia), are said to have been so named from 'Arabah, a small territory in the province of Tihámeh,[a] to which Yaarub, the son of Ḳahṭán, the father of the ancient Arabs, gave his name, and where, some ages after, dwelt Ishmael the son of Abraham by Hagar. The Christian writers, for several centuries, speak of them under the appellation of Saracens, a word of uncertain derivation.

¶ 2. The name of Arabia, (used in a more extensive sense), sometimes comprehends all that large tract of land bounded by the river Euphrates, the Persian Gulph, the Sindian, Indian, and Red Seas, and part of

[a] Pocock Specim. Hist. Arab., 81.

the Mediterranean. Above two-thirds of this country, that is, Arabia properly so called, the Arabs have possessed almost from the Flood; and they have made themselves masters of the rest, either by settlements, or by continual incursions. But the limits of Arabia in its more usual and proper sense, are much narrower, reaching no further northward than the Isthmus, which runs from Eyleh to the head of the Persian Gulph, and the borders of the territory of El-Koofeh; which tract of land the Greeks nearly comprehended under the name of Arabia the Happy. The eastern geographers make Arabia Petræa to belong partly to Egypt, and partly to Esh-Shám (or Syria), and the Desert Arabia, they call the Deserts of Syria.[a]

¶ 3. Proper Arabia is, by the Oriental writers, generally divided into five provinces,[b] namely, El-Yemen, El-Ḥejáz, Tihámeh, En-Nejd, and El-Yemámeh; to which some add El-Baḥreyn, as a sixth; but this province the more exact make part of El-'Eráḳ.[c] Others reduce them all to two, El-Yemen and El-Ḥejàz; the latter, including the three other provinces of Tihámeh, En-Nejd and El-Yemámeh.

¶ 4. The province of El-Yemen, so called either from its situation to the *right hand*, or south of the Temple of Mekḳeh, or else from the *happiness* and *verdure* of its soil, extends along the Indian Ocean, and is subdivided into several lesser provinces, as Hadramót, Esh-Shaḥr, or Esh-Shehr, 'Omán, Nejrán, &c., of which Esh-Shaḥr alone produces the frankincense.[d] The metropolis of El-Yemen is San'a, a very ancient city, in

[a] Golius ad Alfragan, 78, 79.

[b] Strabo says, Arabia Felix was in his time divided into five kingdoms, l. 16, p. 1129. [c] Gol. ad Alfragan, 79. [d] *Idem*, 79, 87.

former times called Azàl,[a] and much celebrated for its delightful situation.

This country has been famous from all antiquity for the happiness of its climate, its fertility and riches,[b] which induced Alexander the Great, after his return from his Indian expedition, to form a design of conquering it, and fixing there his royal seat; but his death, which happened soon after, prevented the execution of this project.[c] Yet, in reality, great part of the riches which the ancients imagined were the produce of Arabia, came from the Indies and the coasts of Africa; for the Egyptians, who had engrossed to themselves the trade which was then carried on by way of the Red Sea, industriously concealed the truth of the matter, and kept their ports shut to prevent foreigners penetrating into those countries, or receiving any information thence. This precaution of theirs on the one side, and the deserts, impassable to strangers, on the other, were the reasons why Arabia was so little known to the Greeks and Romans. The delightfulness and plenty of El-Yemen are owing to its mountains; for all that part which lies along the Red Sea, is a dry, barren desert, in places ten or twelve leagues over, but bounded by se mountains, which, being well watered, enjoy an most continual spring, and, besides coffee, the peculiar duce of this country, yield great plenty and variety fruits, and in particular excellent corn, grapes and ces. There are no rivers of note in this country; for e streams which at certain times of the year descend rom the mountains, seldom reach the sea, being for the

[a] Or this was the name of its builder. See Kámoos. (E. W. L.)
[b] *Vide* Dionys. Perieges, v. 927, &c. [c] Strabo, l. 16, p. 1132. — Arrian, 161.

most part drunk up and lost in the burning sands of that coast.[a]

The soil of the other provinces is much more barren than that of El-Yemen; the greater part of their territories being covered with dry sands, or rising into rocks, interspersed here and there with some fruitful spots, which receive their greatest advantages from their water and palm trees.

¶ 5. The province of El-Ḥejáz, so named, according to some, because it divides En-Nejd from Tihámeh, is bounded on the south by El-Yemen and Tihámeh, on the west by the Red Sea, on the north by the deserts of Syria, and on the east by the province of En-Nejd.[b] This province is famous for its two chief cities, Mekḳeh and El-Medeeneh; one of which is celebrated for its Temple, and for its having given birth to Moḥammad; and the other for its having been the place of his residence for the last ten years of his life, and of his interment.

¶ 6. Mekḳeh, sometimes also called Bekkeh, is certainly one of the most ancient cities in the world: it is by some[c] thought to be the Mesa of the Scrip[ture][d] a name not unknown to the Arabs, and supposed [to be] taken from one of Ishmael's sons.[e] It is situated [in a] stony and barren valley, surrounded on all sides [by] mountains,[f] and is about two miles in length. It is [built] of stone cut from the neighbouring mountains.[g] T[he]

[a] Voy. de l'Arab. Heur., 121, 123, 153.

[b] *V.* Gol. ad Alfrag., 98. Abulfeda, Descr. Arab. p. 5.

[c] R. Saadias in Version. Arab. Pentat. Sefer Juchasin. 135 b.

[d] Gen. x. 30. [e] Gol. ad Alfrag. 82.—See Gen. xxv. 15.

[f] Gol. *Ibid.* 98. — See Pitts's account of the religion and manners [of the] Mohammadans, p. 96. [g] El-Idreese, *apud* Poc. Specim. 122.

being no springs at Mekkeh,[a] but such as are bitter and unfit to drink,[b] except only the well of Zemzem, the water of which, though far the best, yet cannot be drunk for any continuance,[c] causing eruptions in those who drink plentifully of it,[d] the inhabitants collect the rain-water in cisterns.[e] But this not being sufficient, several attempts were made, in early times, to bring water thither from other places, by aqueducts; and particularly about Moḥammad's time, Ez-Zubeyr, one of the principal men of the tribe of Ḳureysh, endeavoured at a great expense to supply the city with water from Mount 'Arafát; but without success. This, however, was effected not many years ago, being begun at the charge of a wife of the Turkish Sulṭán Suleymán.[f] But long before this, another aqueduct had been made from a spring at a considerable distance, which was, after several years' labour, finished by the Khaleefeh El-Muḳted'ir.[g]

The soil about Mekḳeh is so very barren as to produce scarcely any fruits but what are common in the deserts. The inhabitants are therefore obliged to fetch corn from other places;[h] and Háshim, Moḥammad's great-grandfather, then prince of his tribe, the more effectually to supply them with provisions, appointed two caravans to set out yearly for that purpose, the one

[a] Gol. ad Alfragan. 99. [b] El-Idreese, *ubi supra*, 124.

[c] Sale here adds, "being brackish," but Burckhardt says, that the water of Zemzem "is heavy to the taste, and sometimes in its colour resembles milk; but," he adds, "it is perfectly sweet, and differs very much from that of the brackish wells dispersed over the town. When first drawn up, it is slightly tepid, resembling, in this respect, many other fountains of the Ḥejáz." (Travels in Arabia, p. 144.) I have also drunk the water of Zemzem, brought in a china bottle to Cairo, and found it perfectly sweet. (E.W.L.)

[d] El-Idreesee, *ubi supra*, 124; and Pitts, *ubi supra*, p. 107.

[e] Gol. ad Alfrag. 99. [f] *Ibid.* [g] El-Idreese, *ubi supra*. [h] *Item*, ibid.

in summer, and the other in winter.[a] These caravans of purveyors are mentioned in the Ḳur-án. The provisions brought by them were distributed also twice a year, namely, in the month of Rejeb, and at the arrival of the pilgrims. The inhabitants are supplied with dates in great plenty from the adjacent country, and with grapes from Eṭ-Ṭáïf, about seventy-two miles distant,[b] very few growing at Mekḳeh. The people of this city are generally very rich, being considerable gainers by the prodigious concourse of people of almost all nations at the yearly pilgrimage, at which time there is a great fair or mart for all kinds of merchandise. They have also great numbers of cattle, and particularly of camels: however, the poorer sort cannot but live very indifferently, in a place where almost every necessary of life must be purchased with money. Notwithstanding this great sterility near Mekḳeh, yet you are no sooner out of its territory than you meet on all sides with plenty of good springs and streams of running water, with a great many gardens and cultivated lands.[c]

¶ 7. The Temple of Mekḳeh stands in the midst of the city, and is honoured with the title of el-Mesjid el-Ḥarám, that is, the Sacred or Inviolable Temple. What is principally reverenced in this place, and gives sanctity to the whole, is a square stone building, called the Kaaḅeh, as some fancy from its height, which surpasses that of the other buildings in Mekḳeh,[d] but more probably from its cubic form. The length of this edifice, from the north-west to the south-east, is twenty-four cubits; its breadth, twenty-three cubits; and its height, twenty-seven cubits. The

[a] Poc. Spec. 51.

[b] So says Burckhardt, Travels in Arabia, p. 69: Sale says, about 60 miles.

[c] El-Idreesee, *vulgo* Geogr. Nubiensis, 5. [d] Aḥmad Ibn-Yoosuf.

door, which is on the north-east side, near the eastern angle, is about four cubits from the ground; the floor being level with the bottom of the door.[a] In the corner next this door is the Black Stone, of which notice will be taken hereafter. The four sides of the Kaaḅeh are covered with a black brocade, having an inscription worked in gold running round it, a little above the middle. This covering, and a richly embroidered curtain which is hung over the door, are renewed every year. ['The interior of the Kaaḅeh consists of a single room, the roof of which is supported by two columns; and it has no other light than what is received by the door. The ceiling, the upper half of the two columns, and the side-walls, to within about five feet of the floor, are hung with a thick stuff of red silk, richly interwoven with flowers and inscriptions in large characters of silver; the lower part of each column is lined with carved aloe-wood; and that part of the walls below the silk hangings is lined with fine white marble, ornamented with inscriptions cut in relief, and with elegant arabesques; the whole being of exquisite workmanship. The floor, which (as above-mentioned) is upon a level with the door, and therefore about seven feet above the level of the area of the mosque, is laid with marble of different colours. Between the pillars numerous lamps are suspended,—donations of the faithful, and said to be of solid gold. In the north-west (or rather the north) corner of the chamber is a small gate, which leads up to the flat roof of the building. The interior ornaments are Hoeval with the restoration of the Kaaḅeh, which took place A.D. 1627.'][b]

[a] El Idreesee, and Kitáb Mesálik, *apud* Poc. Spec. p. 125, &c.

[b] This description of the interior of the Kaabeh, is from Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia, p. 178.—(E. W. L.)

The Kaabeh, and several structures, &c. around it, among which may be mentioned the place where Ishmael is said to be buried, the Station of Abraham, and the Well of Zemzem, with an edifice erected over it, stand in the midst of a spacious oblong court, bounded by porticoes, which are surmounted by small domes, and around which are seven minárets or steeples, irregularly placed. This enclosure is the work of many successive princes and great men; for the first enclosure was no more than a low wall, built by 'Omar, the second Khaleefeh.[a]

The buildings above-mentioned and alluded to, compose all that is called the Temple; but the whole territory of Mekkeh is also sacred. Within this territory, the limits of which are differently defined by different writers,[b] it is not lawful to attack an enemy, or even to hunt or fowl, or cut a branch from a tree; which is the true reason why the pigeons at Mekkeh are reckoned sacred, and not that they are supposed to be of the race of that imaginary pigeon, which some authors, who should have known better, would persuade us Mohammad made pass for the Holy Ghost.[c]

The temple of Mekkeh was a place of worship, and in singular veneration with the Arabs, from great antiquity, and many centuries before Mohammad. Though it was most probably dedicated at first to an idolatrous use, yet the Muslims are generally persuaded that the Kaabeh is

[a] Poc. Spec. p. 116.

[b] Sale states, on the authority of Golius (Not. in Alfrag. p. 99), that its limits were marked at certain distances by small turrets, some five, some seven, and others ten miles distant, from the city; but according to Burckhardt, the sacred district is at present commonly supposed to extend considerably further. See his Travels in Arabia, p. 465.

[c] Gab. Sionita, and Joh. Hesronita, de nonnullis Orient. Urbib. *ad calc.* Geogr. Nub. p. 21.

almost coeval with the world; for they say that Adam, after his expulsion from Paradise, begged of God that he might erect a building like that he had seen there, called el-Beyt el-Maạmoor, or the Frequented House, and ed-Ḍuráḥ, towards which he might direct his prayers, and which he might compass as the angels do the celestial one. Thereupon, God let down a representation of that house in curtains of light,[a] and set it in Mekḳeh, perpendicularly under its original,[b] ordering the patriarch to turn towards it when he prayed, and to compass it by way of devotion.[c] After Adam's death, his son Seth built a house in the same form, of stones and clay, which, being destroyed by the Deluge, was rebuilt by Abraham and Ishmael,[d] at God's command, in the place where the former had stood, and after the same model, they being directed by revelation.[e] After this edifice had undergone several reparations, it was, a few years after the birth of Moḥammad, rebuilt by the tribe of Kureysh, on the old foundation;[f] and it was again rebuilt by El-Ḥajjáj Ibn-Yoosuf, in the seventy-fourth year of the Flight, in the form wherein it now remains.[g]

[a] Some say that the Beyṭ-el-Maạmoor itself was the Kaạbeh of Adam, which, having been let down to him from heaven, was, at the flood, taken up again into heaven, and is there kept. (Ez-Zamakhsheree, in Kur-án, ch. ii.)

[b] El-Józee, *ex trad.* Ibn-'Abbás.— It has been observed that the primitive Christian church held a parallel opinion as to the situation of the celestial Jerusalem with respect to the terrestial; for in the apocryphal book of the revelations of St. Peter (chap. xxvii.), after Jesus has mentioned unto Peter the creation of the seven heavens (whence, by the way, it appears that this number of heavens was not devised by Moḥammad), and of the angels, begins the description of the heavenly Jerusalem in these words: "We have created the upper Jerusalem above the waters which are above the third heaven, hanging directly over the lower Jerusalem," &c.—*Vide* Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. vit. Moh. p. 28.

[c] Esh-Shahristánee. [d] *Vide* Kur-án, ch. ii. v. 121 (§ xii., ¶ 10, of the following selections). [e] El-Jenábee, *in vita* Abrah.

[f] *Vide* Abulfed. vit. Moh. p. 13. [g] *Idem*, in Hist. Gen.—El-Jenábee, &c.

Before we leave the Temple of Mekkeh, two or three particulars deserve further notice. One is the celebrated Black Stone, before mentioned, which is set in silver, and fixed in the east corner of the Kaabeh, about two cubits and one third (or, which is the same thing, seven spans,) from the ground. This stone is exceedingly respected by the Muslims, and is kissed by the pilgrims with great devotion. They say that it is one of the precious stones of Paradise, that it fell down to the earth with Adam, and, being taken up again, or otherwise preserved at the Deluge, was afterwards brought back by the angel Gabriel to Abraham, when he was rebuilding the Kaabeh. Another thing worthy of particular note in this temple is the stone in Abraham's place, opposite the front of the Kaabeh. They say that he stood on it when he was building the Kaabeh,[a] that it served him for a scaffold, rising and falling of itself, as he required,[b] and that it bears the impression of his foot; but another tradition says that he stood upon it while the wife of his son Ishmael, to whom he paid a visit, washed his head.[c] The last thing that we shall notice in the temple is the Well of Zemzem, which is covered with a small building, opposite the angle in which is the Black Stone. The Muslims say that it is the very spring which gushed out for the relief of Ishmael, when Hagar, his mother, wandered with him in the desert.[d] The water of this well is reckoned holy, and is highly reverenced, being not only drunk with particular devotion by the pilgrims, but also sent in bottles, as a great rarity, to most parts of the Muslim dominions. Its natural qualities have been mentioned before.

[a] Aboo-l-Fida. [b] *Vide* Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p. 35.
[c] Ahmad Ibn-Yoosuf. Safee-ed-Deen. [d] Genes. xxi. 19.

The Temple of Mekḳeh was held in excessive veneration by almost all the Arabs before Moḥammad, especially by those of Mekḳeh, who had a particular interest to support that veneration. They went on pilgrimage to it, and performed a variety of ceremonies, most of which were confirmed by Moḥammad, with some alterations in such points as seemed most exceptionable. It is acknowledged that the greater part of these rites are of no intrinsic worth, neither affecting the soul nor agreeing with natural reason, but altogether arbitrary, and commanded merely to try the obedience of mankind, without any further view; and are therefore to be complied with, not as being good in themselves, but because God has so appointed.[a]

¶ 8. El-Medeeneh (that is, "the city"), which, till Moḥammad's retreat thither, was called Yethrib, is a walled city, about half as big as Mekḳeh,[b] built in a plain, salt in many places, yet tolerably fruitful, particularly in dates, but more especially near the mountains. Here lies Moḥammad, interred in a magnificent tomb, covered with a cupola, near, and within, the south-east corner of the great temple, which is within the city.

¶ 9. The province of Tihámeh was so named from the *vehement heat* of its sandy soil, and is also called El-Ghór, from its *low* situation. It is bounded on the west by the Red Sea, and on the other sides by part of El-Ḥejáz, and El-Yemen, extending almost from Mekḳeh to 'Adan.[d] The province of En-Nejd, which word signifies *the high country*, extends from El-Ḥejáz to El-'Eraḳ.[e] The province of El-Yemámeh lies between

[a] El-Gházalee. *Vide* Abulfarag. Hist. Dyn. p. 171.

[b] El-Idreesee, *vulgo* Geogr. Nubiensis, 5.

[c] Gol. ad Alfragan. 97.—Abulfedæ Descr. Arab., p. 40.—[Also, Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia, p. 331.] [d] Gol. *ubi supra*, 95. [e] *Ib.*, 94.

En-Nejd and El-Yemen. The chief city is El-Yemámeh, which gives its name to the province: it was anciently called El-Jow, and is particularly famous for having been the residence of Moḥammad's competitor, the false prophet Museylimeh.[a]

¶ 10. The Arabs, the inhabitants of the spacious country which has been thus briefly described, and which they have possessed from the most remote antiquity, are distinguished by their own writers into two classes, namely, the Extinct Arabs, and the Surviving.

¶ 11. The former were very numerous, and divided into several tribes, which are now all destroyed, or else lost and swallowed up among the other tribes, and no certain memoirs or records are extant concerning them,[b] though the memory of some very remarkable events, and the catastrophes of some tribes, have been preserved by tradition, and since confirmed by the authority of the Ḳur-án. The most famous tribes among these ancient Arabs were 'A'd, Thamood, Ṭásm, Jedees, the former Jurhum, and 'Emleeḳ, or 'Emláḳ or Amalek.

¶ 12. The tribe of 'A'd were descended from 'A'd, the son of 'Ows (the Uzz of the Bible[c]), the son of Irem[d] (or Aram of the Bible,) the son of Sám (or Shem), the son of Nooḥ (or Noah); this 'A'd, after the confusion of tongues, having settled in El-Aḥḳáf (or the sand-hills) in the province of Ḥaḍramót, where his prosperity greatly multiplied. Their first king was Sheddád, the son of 'A'd, of whom the eastern writers deliver many fabulous things, particularly that he finished the magnificent city which his father had begun, wherein he built

[a] Gol *ubi supra*, 95. [b] Abulfarag. p. 159. [c] Gen. x. 22, 23.

[d] *Vide* Kur-án, ch. lxxxix. — Some make 'A'd the son of Amalek the son of Ham; but the other is the received opinion. Sed D'Herbel. 51.

a fine palace, adorned with delicious gardens, to embellish which he spared neither cost nor labour, proposing thereby to create in his subjects a superstitious veneration of himself as a god.[a] This garden or paradise was called the garden of Irem, and is mentioned in the Ḳur-án,[b] and often alluded to by the oriental writers. The city, they tell us, is still standing in the deserts of 'Adan, being preserved by providence as a monument of divine justice, though it is invisible, unless very rarely, when God permits it to be seen. A man named 'Abd-Allah Ibn-Ḳilábeh (or Ibn-Abee-Ḳilábeh) pretended to have seen it in the reign of the Khaleefeh Mo'áwiyeh, who sending for him to know the truth of the matter he related his whole adventure; that as he was seeking a camel he had lost, he found himself on a sudden at the gates of this city, and entering it, saw not one inhabitant, at which being terrified, he stayed no longer than to take with him some fine stones, which he showed to the Khaleefeh.[c]

The descendants of 'A'd in process of time falling from the worship of the true God into idolatry, God sent the prophet Hood (who is generally agreed to be Heber[d]) to preach to and reclaim them. But they refusing to acknowledge his mission, or to obey him, God sent a hot and suffocating wind, which blew seven nights and eight days together, and, entering at their nostrils, passed through their bodies,[e] and destroyed them all, a very few only excepted, who had believed in Hood, and retired with him to another place.[f] That

[a] *Vide eund.* 498 [b] Chap. 89.

[c] D'Herbelot, 51. — [For a full account of his adventure, see my translation of the Thousand and One Nights.—E. W. L.]

[d] The Jews acknowledge Heber to have been a great prophet.—Seder Olam, p. 2.

[e] El-Beydáwee. [f] Poc. Spec. 35, &c.

prophet afterwards returned into Ḥaḍramót, and was buried near Ḥásik, where there is a small town now standing, called Ḳabr Hood, or the Sepulchre of Hood.

Before the 'A'dites were thus severely punished, God, to humble them, and incline them to hearken to the preaching of his prophet, afflicted them with a drought for four years, so that all their cattle perished, and themselves very nearly; upon which they sent Luḳmán (different from one of the same name, who lived in the time of David) with sixty others to Meḳkeh, to beg rain, which they not obtaining, Luḳmán with some of his company staid at Meḳkeh, and thereby escaped destruction, giving rise to a tribe called the Latter 'A'd, who were afterwards changed into apes.[a]

Some commentators on the Ḳur-án[b] tell us that these old 'A'dites were of prodigious stature; the largest being a hundred cubits high, and the least sixty; which extraordinary size they pretend to prove by the testimony of the Ḳur-án.[c]

¶ 13. The tribe of Thamood were the posterity of Thamood, the son of Játhir (improperly written, by some Arab authors, Jábir, and A'bir; the Gether of the Scriptures[d]), the son of Irem (or Aram), the son of Sám (or Shem), the son of Nooḥ (or Noah), who falling into idolatry, the prophet Ṣáleḥ was sent to bring them back to the worship of the true God. This prophet lived between the times of Hood and Abraham, and therefore cannot be the same with the patriarch Selah, as D'Herbelot imagines.[e] The learned Bochart with more probability takes him to be Phaleg.[f] A small number of

[a] Poc. Spec. 36. [b] Jelál-Ed-Deen, and Er-Zamakhsherée.
[c] Chap. vii. v. 67. (§ x. ¶ 1, of the following selections.) [d] Gen. x. 23.
[e] D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient 740. [f] Bochart. Geogr. Sac.

the people of Thamood hearkened to the remonstrances of Ṣáleḥ; but the rest requiring as a proof of his mission, that he should cause a pregnant she-camel to come out of a rock in their presence, he accordingly obtained it of God, and the camel was immediately delivered of a young one ready weaned. They, however, instead of believing, cut the hamstrings of the camel, and killed her; at which act of impiety God being highly displeased, three days after struck them dead in their houses by an earthquake and a terrible noise from heaven, which, some[a] say, was the voice of Gabriel the Archangel crying aloud, "Die, all of you!" Ṣáleḥ, with those who were reformed by him, were saved from this destruction; the prophet going into Palestine, and from thence to Mekkeh,[b] where he ended his days.

This tribe first dwelt in El-Yemen; but being expelled thence by Hemyer the son of Seba,[c] they settled in the territory of Hejr, in the province of El-Ḥejáz, where their habitations cut out of the rocks, mentioned in the Ḳur-án,[d] are still to be seen, and also the crack of the rock whence the camel issued, which, as an eye-witness[e] hath declared, is sixty cubits wide. These houses of the Thamoodites, being of the ordinary proportion, are used as an argument to convince those of a mistake who make this people to have been of a gigantic stature.[f]

The tragical destructions of these two potent tribes are often insisted on in the Ḳur-án, as instances of God's judgment on obstinate unbelievers.

¶ 11. The tribe of Tasm were the posterity of

[a] See D'Herbelot, 366. [b] Ibn-Esh Shehnah [c] Pos. Spec. 47,
[d] Chap. xv. v. 82. [e] Aboo-Moosa El-Ash'aree. [f] *Vide* Pos. Spec. 37.

Láwadh (or Lud), the son of Sám (or Shem); and Jedees, of the descendants of Játhir[a] (or Gether). These two tribes dwelt promiscuously together under the government of Tasm, till a certain tyrant made an infamous law, with respect to the maids of the tribe of Jedees,[b] whereupon this tribe formed a conspiracy, and inviting the king and chiefs of Tasm to an entertainment, privately hid their swords in the sand, and in the midst of their mirth fell on them and slew them all, and extirpated the greatest part of the tribe. However, the few who escaped, obtaining aid of the king of El-Yemen (then, as is said, Dhoo-Habshán Ibn-El-Akran[c]), assaulted Jedees, and utterly destroyed them; and scarce any mention has been made from that time of either of those tribes.[d]

¶ 15. The former tribe of Jurham (whose ancestor, some pretend, was one of the eighty persons saved in the ark with Noah, according to a Muslim tradition[e]) was contemporary with 'A'd, and utterly perished.[f]— The tribe of 'Emleek, or Emlák, or Amalek, were descended from Amalek the son of Eliphaz the son of Esau;[g] though some of the oriental writers say Amalek was the son of Ham the son of Noah;[h] others, the son of Azd the son of Shem;[i] and others,[k] the son of Láwadh (or Lud). The posterity of this person rendered themselves very powerful,[l] and before the time of Joseph

[a] Abu l Fida.

[b] A like custom is said to have been in some manors of England, and also in Scotland, where it was called Cullage or Cullage, having been instituted by K. Ewen, and abolished by Malcolm III. See Bayle's Dic. art. Sixte IV. Rem. H.

[c] Poc. Spec. 80. — (I am not certain of the orthography of "Habshán."— (E. W. L.) [d] *Ib.* 37, &c. [e] Poc. Spec. p. 38. [f] Ibn-Esh-Shehneh.

[g] Gen. xxxvi. 12. [h] *Vide* D'Herbelot, p. 110. [i] Ibn-Esh Sheneh.

[k] See Kámoos. [l] See Numbers xxiv. 20.

conquered Lower Egypt, under their king El-Weleed, the first who took the name of Pharoah, as the eastern writers tell us ;[a] seeming by these Amalekites to mean the same people which the Egyptian histories call Phœnician Shepherds.[b] But after they had possessed the throne of Egypt for some descents, they were expelled by the natives, and at length totally destroyed by the Israelites.[c]

¶ 16. The surviving races of Arabs, according to their own historians, are sprung from two stocks, Ḳaḥṭán (the same with Joctan the son of Eber[d]), and 'Adnán, a descendant in a direct line from Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar. The posterity of the former some call el-'Arab el-A'ribeh,[e] that is, the genuine or pure Arabs; and those of the latter, el'Arab el-Mustaʿribeh, that is, the Naturalized or Insititious Arabs: but others reckon the ancient extinct tribes to have been the only Pure Arabs, and therefore call the posterity of Ḳaḥṭán el-'Arab el-Muta'arribeh, which likewise signifies the Insititious Arabs, though in a nearer degree than Mustaʿribeh; the descendants of Ishmael being the more distant graft.

The posterity of Ishmael have no claim to be admitted as pure Arabs, their ancestor being by origin and language an Hebrew, but having made an alliance with the tribe of Jurhum, by marrying a daughter of Muḍáḍ, and accustomed himself to their manner of living and lan-

[a] Mir-át Kámát. [b] *Vide* Joseph. cont. Apion, l. i.

[c] See Exod. xvii. 18, &c.; 1 Sam. xv. 2, &c.; Ib. xxvii. 8, 9; 1 Chron. iv. 43.

[d] R. Saad. in vers. Arab. Pentat. Gen. x. 25.—Some writers make Ḳaḥṭán a descendant of Ishmael, but against the current of Oriental historians. See Poc. Spec. 30.

[e] An expression something like that of St. Paul, who calls himself an Hebrew of the Hebrews.—Philipp. iii. 5.

guage, his descendants became blended with them into one nation. The uncertainty of the descents between Ishmael and 'Adnán is the reason why they seldom trace their genealogies higher than the latter, whom they acknowledge as father of their tribes; the descents from him downwards being pretty certain and uncontroverted.[a]

Besides these tribes of Arabs, mentioned by their own authors, who were all of the race of Shem, others of them were the posterity of Ham, by his son Cush, whose name is in Scripture constantly given to the Arabs and their country, though our version renders it Ethiopia. But strictly speaking, the Cushites did not inhabit Arabia, properly so called, but the banks of the Euphrates and the Persian Gulph, whither they came from Khoozistán or Susiana, the original settlement of their father.[b] They probably mixed themselves in process of time with the other Arabs; but the eastern writers take little or no notice of them.

¶ 17. The Arabs were for some centuries under the government of the descendants of Kahtán; Yaarub, one of his sons, founding the Kingdom of El-Yemen; and Jurhum, another of them, that of El-Hejáz.

¶ 18. The province of El-Yemen, or the greater part of it, (particularly the territories of Jeba and Hadramót,) was governed by princes of the tribe of Hemyer, though at length the kingdom was translated to the descendants of Kahtán, his brother, who yet retained the title of kings of Hemyer, and had all of them the general title of Tubba', which signifies successor, and was affected to this race of princes as that of Cæsar was

[a] Poc. Spec. p. 40 [b] *Vide* Hyde, Hist. rel. veter. Persar. p. 37, &c.

to the Roman emperors, and Khaleefeh to the successors of Mohammad. There were several lesser princes, who reigned in other parts of El-Yemen, and were mostly, if not altogether, subject to the king of Hemyer, whom they called the Great King; but of these, history has recorded nothing remarkable, or that may be depended upon.[a]

¶ 19. The first great calamity that befel the tribes settled in El-Yemen, was the Flood of El-'Arim, which, according to most authors who have of late investigated the subject,[b] happened in the first or second, or early in the third, century of the Christian era,[c] and is famous in Arabian history. No less than eight tribes were forced to abandon their dwellings upon this occasion, some of which gave rise to the two kingdoms of Ghassán and El-Heereh. And this was probably the time of the migration of those tribes or colonies which were led into Mesopotamia by three chiefs, Bekr, Mudar, and Rabee'ah, from whom the three provinces of that country are still named Diyár Bekr, Diyár Mudar, and Diyár Rabee'ah.[d] 'Abd-Shems, surnamed Seba, having built the city from him called Seba, and afterwards Ma-rib, made a vast mound or dam,[e] to serve as a basin or reservoir to receive the water which came down from the mountains, not only for the use of the inhabitants, and watering their lands, but also to keep the country they had subjected in greater awe, by being masters of the water. This building stood like a mountain above their city, and was by them esteemed so strong that they were in no apprehension of its ever failing. The

[a] Poc. Spec. p. 65, 66. [b] Namely, Schultens, De Sacy, &c.
[c] Sale says, soon after the time of Alexander the Great.
[d] *Vide* Gol. ad Alfrag. p. 232. [e] Poc. Spec. p. 57.

water rose to the height of almost twenty fathoms, and was kept in on every side by a work so solid, that many of the inhabitants had their houses built upon it. Every family had a certain portion of this water, distributed by aqueducts. But at length God, being highly displeased at their great pride and insolence, and resolving to humble and disperse them, sent a mighty flood, which broke down the mound by night, while the inhabitants were asleep, and carried away the whole city, with the neighbouring towns and people.[a]

The tribes which remained in El-Yemen after this terrible devastation, still continued under the obedience of the former princes, till about seventy years before Mohammad, when the King of Abyssinia sent over forces to assist the Christians of El-Yemen against the cruel persecution of their king, Dhoo Nuwás, a bigoted Jew, whom they drove to that extremity that he forced his horse into the sea, and so lost his life and crown.[b] After this, the country was governed by four Abyssinian princes, successively, till Seyf, the son of Dhoo-Yezen of the tribe of Hemyer, obtaining succours from Kisra Anooshirwán, King of Persia, which had been denied him by the emperor Heraclius, recovered the throne and drove out the Abyssinians; but he was himself slain by some of them who were left behind. The Persians appointed the succeeding princes till El-Yemen fell into the hands of Mohammad; to whom Bádhán, the last of them, submitted, embracing also his religion.[c]

The kingdom of the Hemyerites is said to have lasted two thousand and twenty years,[d] or, as others say, about

[a] Geogr. Nubiensis, p. 52. [b] See Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 61.
[c] Poc. Spec. p. 63, 64. [d] Abu-l-Fida.

three thousand;[a] the length of the reign of each prince being very uncertain.

¶ 20. It has been already observed that two kingdoms were founded by those who left their country on the occasion of the Flood of El-'Arim. They were both out of the proper limits of Arabia. One of them was the kingdom of Ghassán. The founders of this kingdom were of the tribe of El-Azd, who settling in Syria Damascena, near a water called Ghassán, thence took their name, and drove out the Ḍajá'emeh Arabs, of the tribe of Seleeh, who before possessed that country.[b] There they maintained their kingdom four hundred years, or, as others say, six hundred, or, as Abu-l-Fida more exactly computes, six hundred and sixteen. Five of these princes were named El-Ḥárith, which the Greeks write Aretas; and one of them it was (according to Sale), whose governor ordered the gates of Damascus to be watched to take St. Paul.[c] If so, the kingdom of Ghassán could not have been founded so long after the commencement of the Christian era as some have supposed. The Ghassánian Arabs became Christians, and their last king was Jebeleh, the son of El-Eyham, who, on the Arabs' successes in Syria, professed El-Islam under the Khaleefeh 'Omar; but receiving a disgust from him, returned to his former faith, and retired to Constantinople.[d]

¶ 21. The kingdom of El-Ḥeereh was founded by Málik, the son of Fahm, of the descendants of Ḳaḥṭán,[e] in Chaldea, or El-'Eráḳ; but after three descents, the throne came by marriage to the Lakhmians, called also

El-Jenábee, and Ahmad Ibn-Yoosuf. [b] Poc. Spec. p. 76.
[a] 2 Cor. xi. 32; Acts, ix. 24.
See Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 174. [e] Poc. Spec. p. 66.

El-Menádhireh, or the family of El-Mundhir, who preserved their dominion, notwithstanding some small interruption by the Persians, till the reign of the Khaleefeh Aboo-Bekr, when El-Mundhir El-Maghroor, the last of them, lost his life and crown by the arms of Khâlid Ibn-El-Weleed. This kingdom is said to have lasted six hundred and twenty-two years, and eight months.[a] Its princes were under the protection of the kings of Persia, whose lieutenants they were over the Arabs of El-'Erák, as the kings of Ghassán were for the Roman emperors over those of Syria.[b]

¶ 22. Jurhum, the son of Ḳaḥṭán, reigned in El-Ḥejáz, where his posterity kept the throne till the time of Ishmael; but on his marrying the laughter of Muḍáḍ, by whom he had twelve sons, Ḳeydhár, one of them, had the crown resigned to him by his uncles, the Jurhumites;[c] or, as some say, the descendants of Ishmael expelled that tribe, who, retiring to Juheyneh, were, after various fortune, at last all destroyed by an inundation.[d]

After the expulsion of the Jurhumites, the government of El-Ḥejáz seems not to have continued for many centuries in the hands of one prince, but to have been divided among the heads of tribes, almost in the same manner as the Arabs of the desert are governed at this day. At Mekḳeh an aristocracy prevailed, where the chief management of affairs, till the time of Moḥammad, was in the tribe of Ḳureysh, especially after they had gotten the custody of the Kaabeh from the tribe of Khuzá'ah.[e]

[a] Poc. Spec. p. 74. [b] *Ib.* and Prooop, in Pers. *apud* Photium, p. 71, &c.
[c] Poc. Spec. p. 45. [d] *Ib.* p. 79.
[e] *Ib.* p. 41; and Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 2.

Besides the kingdoms which have been taken notice of, there were some other tribes, which in latter times had princes of their own, and formed states of lesser note, particularly the tribe of Kindeh.[a]

¶ 23. The Arabs have preserved their liberty, of which few nations can produce so ancient monuments, with very little interruption from the very Deluge; for though very great armies have been sent against them, all attempts to subdue them were unsuccessful. The Assyrian or Median empires never got footing among them.[b] The Persian Monarchs, though they were their friends, and so far respected by them as to have an annual present of frankincense,[c] yet could never make them tributary;[d] and were so far from being their masters, that Cambyses, on his expedition against Egypt, was obliged to ask their leave to pass through their territories.[e] And when Alexander had subdued that mighty empire, yet the Arabs had so little apprehension of him, that they alone, of all the neighbouring nations, sent no ambassadors to him, either first or last; which, with a desire of possessing so rich a country, made him form a design against it; and had he not died before he could put it in execution,[f] this people might possibly have convinced him that he was not invincible. It does not appear that any of his successors, either in Asia or Egypt, ever made any attempt against them.[g] The Romans never conquered any part of Arabia properly so called: the most they did was to make some tribes in Syria tributary to them, as Pompey did one com-

[a] *Vide* Poc. Spec. p. 79, &c. [b] Diodor. Sic. l. ii. p. 131.
[c] Herodot. l. iii. c. 97. [d] *Idem* ib. c. 91; Diodor. *ubi supra.*
[e] Herodot. l. iii. c. 8 & 98. [f] Strabo, l. xvi. p 1076, 1132.
[g] *Vide* Diodor. Sic. *ubi supra.*

manded by Sampsiceramus, or Shems-El-Kirám, who reigned at Hems, or Emessa.[a] None of the Romans, or any other nations that we know of, ever penetrated so far into Arabia as Ælius Gallus, under Augustus Cæsar;[b] yet he was so far from subduing it, as some authors pretend,[c] that he was soon obliged to return without effecting anything considerable, having lost the best part of his army by sickness and other accidents.[d] This ill success probably discouraged the Romans from attacking them any more; for Trajan, notwithstanding the flatteries of the historians and orators of his time, and the medals struck by him, did not subdue the Arabs; the province of Arabia, which it is said he added to the Roman empire, scarce reaching farther than Arabia Petræa, or the very skirts of the country. And we are told by one author,[e] that this prince, marching against the Agarens, who had revolted, met with such a reception that he was obliged to return without doing anything.

¶ 24. The general religion of the Arabs before Mohammad, which they call the State of Ignorance, in opposition to the knowledge of God's true worship revealed to them by their prophet, was chiefly gross idolatry; the Sabian religion having almost overrun the whole nation, though there was also great numbers of Christians, Jews, and Magians, among them.

The Sabians believe in one God, and produce many strong arguments for his unity; but they also pay an adoration to the stars, or the angels and intelligences which they suppose reside in them, and govern the

[a] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1092. [b] Dion-Cassius, l. liii. p. m. 516.
[c] Huet, Hist. du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens, c. 50.
[d] See the whole expedition described at large by Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1126, &c.
[e] Xiphilin epit.

world under the Supreme Deity. They endeavour to perfect themselves in the four intellectual virtues, and believe that the souls of wicked men will be punished for nine thousand ages, but will afterwards be received to mercy. They are obliged to pray three times a-day; the first time, half an hour or less before sunrise, ordering it so that they may just as the sun rises finish eight adorations, each containing three prostrations:[b] the second prayer they end at noon, when the sun begins to decline, in saying which they perform five such adorations as the former: and the same they do the third time, ending just as the sun sets. They fast three times a-year; the first time thirty days; the next, nine days; and the last, seven. They offer many sacrifices, but eat no part of them; burning them all. They abstain from beans, garlick, and some other pulse and vegetables.[c] As to the Sabian Kibleh (or the part to which they turn their faces in praying), authors greatly differ: one will have it to be the north;[d] another, the south; a third, Mekkeh; and a fourth, the star to which they pay their devotions:[e] and perhaps there may be some variety in their practice in this respect. They go on pilgrimage to a place near the city of Harrán, in Mesopotamia, where great numbers of them dwell; and they have also a great respect for the Temple of Mekkeh, and the Pyramids of Egypt,[f] fancying these last to be the sepulchres of Seth and of Enoch and Sábee his two sons, whom they look on as the first propagators of their religion. At these structures they sacrifice a cock

[a] Some say seven. See D'Herbelot, p. 726; and Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p. 128.
[b] Others say they use no incurvations or prostrations at all. *Vide* Hyde, *ib.*
[c] Abulfarag. Hist. Dynast. p. 281. [d] *Idem, ib.*
[e] Hyde, *ubi supra*. p. 124. [f] D'Herbelot, *ubi supra*.

and a black calf, and offer up incense.[a] Besides the book of Psalms, the only true Scripture they read, they have other books which they esteem equally sacred, particularly one in the Chaldee tongue, which they call the book of Seth, and which is full of moral discourses. This sect say that they took the name of Sabians from the above-mentioned Ṣábee, though it seems rather to be derived from the Hebrew "Saba,"[b] or the host of heaven, which they worship.[c] Travellers commonly call them Christians of St. John the Baptist, whose disciples also they pretend to be, using a kind of baptism, which is the greatest mark they bear of Christianity. This is one of the religions, the practice of which (according to some) Moḥammad tolerated on the condition of paying tribute, and the professors of it are often included in that expression of the Ḳur-án, "those to whom the Scriptures have been given," or literally, "people of the book."

The idolatry of the Arabs then, as Sabians, chiefly consisted in worshipping the fixed stars and planets, and the angels and their images, which they honoured as inferior deities, and whose intercession they begged, as their mediators with God. For the Arabs acknowledged one supreme God, the Creator and Lord of the universe, whom they called Allah Ta'ála (God [whose name] be exalted!—or, the Most High God); and their other deities, who were subordinate to him, they called simply el-Iláhát (that is, the Goddesses). These words the Greeks not understanding, and it being their con-

[a] See Greave's Pyramidogr. p. 6, 7. [b] *Vide* Poc. Spec. p. 138.

[c] Thábit Ibn-Ḳurrah, a famous astronomer, and himself a Sabian, wrote a treatise in Syriac, concerning the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of this sect; from which, if it could be recovered, we might expect much better information than any taken from the Arabian writers. *Vide* Abulfarag. *ubi supra*.

stant custom to resolve the religion of every other nation into their own, and find out gods of theirs to match the others, they pretend the Arabs worshipped only two deities, Orotalt and Alilat (as those names are corruptly written), whom they will have to be the same with Bacchus and Urania; pitching on the former as one of the greatest of their own gods, and educated in Arabia, and the other because of the veneration shown by the Arabs to the stars.[a]

That they acknowleged one supreme God appears (to omit other proof) from their usual form of addressing themselves to Him, which was this:—"At Thy service, O God! At Thy service! At Thy service! Thou hast no companion, except a companion who is Thine, of whom Thou art master, and of what he possesseth!"[b] So that they supposed the idols not to be *sui juris*, though they offered sacrifices and other offerings to them, as well as to God, who was also often put off with the least portion, as Mohammad upbraids them. Thus, when they planted fruit-trees, or sowed a field, they divided it by a line into two parts, setting one apart for their idols, and the other for God; and if any of the fruits happened to fall from the idols' part into God's, they made restitution; but if from God's part into the idols', they made no restitution. So when they watered the idols' grounds, if the water broke over into God's part, they dammed it up again; but if the contrary, they let it run on, saying, that they wanted what was God's, but He wanted nothing.[c] In the same manner, if the offering designed for God happened to be better

[a] *Vide* Herodot. l. iii. c. 8; Arrian. p. 161, 162; and Strabo, l. xvi.
[b] Esh-Shahristánee. [c] Naḍhm ed-Durr.

than that designed for the idol, they made an exchange; but not otherwise.[a]

It was from this gross idolatry, or the worship of inferior deities, or *companions of God*, as the Arabs continue to call them, that Moḥammad reclaimed his countrymen, establishing the sole worship of the true God among them.

The worship of the stars the Arabs might easily be led into, from their observing the changes of weather to happen at the rising or setting of certain of them, which after a long course of experience induced them to ascribe a divine power to those stars, and to think themselves indebted to them for their rains, a very great benefit and refreshment to their parched country. Of this superstition the Ḳur-án particularly takes notice.[b]

The ancient Arabs and Indians, between which two nations was a great conformity of religions, had seven celebrated temples, dedicated to the seven planets, one of which in particular, called Beyt Ghumdán, was built in Ṣan'a, the metropolis of El-Yemen, to the honour of Ez-Zuharah, or the planet Venus, and was demolished by the Khaleefeh 'Othmán;[c] by whose murder was fulfilled the prophetical inscription set, as is reported, over this temple, namely, "Ghumdán, he who destroyeth thee shall be slain."[d] The Temple of Mekḳeh is also said to have been consecrated to Zoḥal, or Saturn.[e]

Though these deities were generally reverenced by the whole nation, yet each tribe chose some one as the more peculiar object of their worship. Thus, as to the stars and planets, the tribe of Ḥemyer chiefly worshipped the sun; Kináneh, the moon; Lakhm and Judhám, El-

[a] El-Beyḍáwee. [b] *Vide* Poc Spec. p. 163. [c] Esh-Shahristánee.
[d] El-Jenábee. [e] Esh-Shahristánee.

Mushter-ée (or Jupiter); Ṭeiyi, Suheyl (or Canopus); Ḳeys, Esh-Sheara-l-'Aboor (that is, Sirius, or the Dog-Star); and Asad, 'Oṭárid (or Mercury).[a] Among the worshippers of Sirius, one Aboo-Kebsheh was very famous. This man used his utmost endeavours to persuade the tribe of Ḳureysh to leave their images and worship this star; for which reason, Moḥammad, who also endeavoured to make them leave their images, was by them nicknamed the son of Aboo-Kebsheh.[b] The worship of Sirius is particularly hinted at in the Ḳur-án.[c]

¶ 25. Of the angels or intelligences which they worshipped, the Ḳur-án[d] makes mention only of three, which were worshipped under female names,[e] El-Lát, El-'Ozza, and Menáh. These were by them called goddesses, and the daughters of God, an appellation they gave not only to the angels, but also to their images, which they either believed to be inspired with life by God, or else to become the tabernacles of the angels, and to be animated by them; and they gave them divine worship, because they imagined that they interceded for them with God.

El-Lát, or El-Látt, was the idol of the tribe of Thakeef, who dwelt at Eṭ-Ṭáïf, and had a temple consecrated to her in a place called Nakhleh. This idol, El-Mugheereh, the son of Shoabeh, destroyed by Moḥammad's order, who sent him and Aboo-Sufyán on that commission in the ninth year of the Flight.[f] The inhabitants of Eṭ-Ṭáïf, especially the women, bitterly

[a] Abulfarag. p. 160. [b] Poc. Spec. p. 132. [c] Chap. liii.
[d] *Ibid.* [e] *Ibid.*
[f] Dr. Prideaux mentions this expedition, but mentions only Aboo-Sufyán, and mistaking the name of the idol for an appellative, supposes he went only to disarm the people of the Eṭ-Ṭáïf of their *weapons and instruments of war.* See his Life of Mahomet, p. 98.

lamented the loss of this their deity, of which they were so fond, that they begged of Moḥammad, as a condition of peace, that it might not be destroyed for three years, and not obtaining that, asked only a month's respite, but he absolutely denied it.[a] There are several derivations of this word, which the curious may learn from Dr. Pocock:[b] it seems most probably to be derived from the same root with Allah, to which it may be a feminine; and it will then signify the goddess.

El-'Ozza, as some affirm, was the idol of the tribes of Ḳureysh and Kináneh,[c] and part of the tribe of Suleym:[d] others[e] tell us it was a tree called the Egyptian thorn, worshipped by the tribe of Ghaṭafán, first consecrated by Ḍhálim Ibn-As'ad, who built a chapel over it called Buss, so contrived as to give a sound when any person entered. Khálid Ibn-El-Weleed, being sent by Moḥammad, in the eighth year of the Flight, to destroy this idol, demolished the chapel, and, cutting down this tree or image, burned it: he also slew the priestess, who ran out with her hair dishevelled, and her hands on her head as a suppliant. Yet the author who relates this, says in another place, that the chapel was pulled down, and Ḍhálim himself killed, by Zuheyr [Ibn-Jenáb El-Kelbee] because he had consecrated this chapel with a design to draw the pilgrims thither from Mekḳeh, and lessen the reputation of the Kaabeh. The name of this deity is derived from the root "'azza," and signifies the most mighty.

Menáh was the object of worship of the tribes of Hudheyl and Khuzá'ah,[f] who dwelt between Mekḳeh

[a] Abulfedæ Vita Moham. p. 27. [b] Spec. p. 90.
[c] El-Jóharee, *apud eund.* p. 91. [d] Esh-Shahristánee, *ib.*
[e] El-Feroozábádee, *ib.* [f] El-Jóharee.

and El-Medeeneh, and, as some say,[a] of the tribes of Ows, El-Khazraj, and Thaḳeef also. This idol was a large stone,[b] demolished by one Saad, in the eighth year of the Flight, a year so fatal to the idols of Arabia.

Five other idols (which, with the former three, are all that the Ḳur-án mentions by name), were Wedd, Suwáa, Yeghooth, Ya'ooḳ, and Nesr. These are said to have been antediluvian idols, against which Noah preached, and were afterwards taken by the Arabs for gods, having been men of great merit and piety in their time, whose statues they reverenced at first with a civil honour only, which in process of time became heightened to a divine worship.[c]

Wedd was supposed to be the heaven, and was worshipped under the form of a man, by the tribe of Kelb, in Doomet el-Jendel.[d]

Suwáa was adored under the shape of a woman, by the tribe of Hemdán; or, as others[e] write, of Hudheyl, in Ruḥát. This idol lying under water for some time after the deluge, was at length, it is said, discovered by the devil, and was worshipped by the tribe of Hudheyl, who instituted pilgrimages to it.[f]

Yeghooth was an idol in the shape of a lion, and was the deity of the tribe of Medh-ḥej and others, who dwelt in El-Yemen.[g] Its name seems to be derived from "ghátha," which signifies "he helped."

Ya'ooḳ was worshipped by the tribe of Murád, or, according to some, by that of Hemdán,[h] under the figure

[a] Esh-Shahristánee, Abu-l-Fida, &c.
[b] El-Beyḍáwee; Ez-Zamakhshenee.
[c] Ḳur-án, ch. lxxi. Comment. Persic. *Vide* Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p. 133.
[d] El-Joharee; Esh-Shahristánee.
[e] *Idem*, El-Feyroozábádee, and Safee-ed-Deen. [f] El-Feyroozábádee.
[g] Esh-Shahristánee. [h] El-Jóharee.

of a horse. It is said that he was a man of great piety, and his death was much regretted; whereupon the devil appeared to his friends in a human form, and, undertaking to represent him to the life, persuaded them, by way of comfort, to place his effigies in their temples, that they might have them in view when at their devotions. This was done; and seven others of extraordinary merit had the same honours shewn them, till at length their posterity made idols of them in earnest.[a] The name Ya'ook probably comes from "'áka," "he prevented."[b]

Nesr was a deity adored by the tribe of Hemyer, or by Dhu-l-Keláa,[c] in the territory of Hemyer, under the image of a vulture,[d] which the name signifies.

There are, or were, two statues at Bámiyán, a city of Kábul, in India, fifty cubits high, which some writers suppose to be the same with Yeghooth and Ya'ook, or else with Menáh and El-Lát; and they also speak of a third, standing near the others, but something less, in the shape of an old woman, called Nesrem, or Nesr. These statues were hollow within, for the secret giving of oracles;[e] but they seem to have been different from the Arabian idols. There was also an idol at Sómanát, in India, called Lát, or El-Lát, whose statue was fifty fathoms high, of a single stone, and placed in the midst of a temple supported by fifty-six pillars of massy gold. This idol, Mahmood Ibn-Sabuktigeen, who conquered that part of India, broke to pieces with his own hands.[f]

[a] El-Feyroozábádee. [b] Poc. Spec. p. 94.

[c] The name of a *man*, not (as Sale supposed) of a *place*.—(E. W. L.)

[d] Sale says "an eagle," and may be right; for "nesr," it appears, signifies "an eagle," as well as a "vulture." [e] See Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p. 132.

[f] D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 512.

Besides the idols we have mentioned, the Arabs worshipped also great numbers of others, which would take up too much time to have distinct accounts given of them; and not being named in the Ḳur-án, they are not so much to our present purpose. For besides that every housekeeper had his household god or gods, which he last took leave of, and first saluted, at his going abroad and returning home,[a] there was no less than three hundred and sixty idols,[b] equalling in number the days of their year, in and about the Kaabeh of Mekkeh, the chief of which was Hubal,[c] brought from Balka, in Syria, into Arabia, by 'Amr Ibn-Loheí, who pretended that it would procure the people rain when they wanted it.[d] It was the statue of a man, made of red agate, which having by some accident lost a hand, the tribe of Ḳureysh repaired it with one of gold. He held in his hand seven arrows, without heads or feathers, such as the Arabs used in divination.[e] This idol is supposed to have been the same with the image of Abraham,[f] found and destroyed by Mohammad, in the Kaabeh, on his entering it, in the eighth year of the Flight, when he took Mekkeh,[g] and surrounded with a great number of angels and prophets, as inferior deities; among whom, as some say, was Ishmael, with divining-arrows in his hand also.[h]

Isáf, or Asáf, and Náïleh, the former the image of a man, the latter of a woman, were also two idols brought with Hubal from Syria, and placed, the one on Es-Ṣafa, and the other, on El-Marweh.[i] Or Isáf was the son

[a] El-Mustatraf. [b] El-Jenábee. [c] Abu-l-Fida; Esh-Shahristánee, &c.
[d] Poc. Spec. p. 95. [e] Safee-ed-Deen. [f] Poc. Spec. p. 97.
[g] Abu-l-Fida. [h] Ibn-El-Atheer; El-Jenábee, &c.
[i] Es-Ṣafa and El-Marweh are two slightly elevated spots adjacent to the Temple of Mekkeh.—(E. W. L.)

of 'Amr, and Náïleh the daughter of Sahl, both of the tribe of Jurhum, who, committing a crime in the Kaabeh, were by God converted into stone,[a] and afterwards worshipped by the tribe of Ḳureysh, and so much reverenced by them, that, though this superstition was condemned by Moḥammad, yet he allowed the visiting Es-Ṣafa and El-Marweh, as monuments of divine justice.[b]

Another idol of this nation was a lump of dough, worshipped by the tribe of Ḥaneefeh, whom a poet has ridiculed for eating their god when they were suffering from famine.[c]

Several of their idols, as Menáh in particular, were no more than large rude stones, the worship of which the posterity of Ishmael first introduced; for, as they multiplied, and the territory of Mekḳeh became too strait for them, great numbers were obliged to seek new abodes; and on such migrations it was usual for them to take with them some of the stones of that reputed holy land, and set them up in the places where they fixed; and these stones they at first only compassed out of devotion, as they had been accustomed to compass the Kaabeh. But this at last ended in rank idolatry; the Ishmaelites forgetting the religion left them by their father, so far as to pay divine worship to any fine stone they met with.[d]

¶ 26. Some of the Pagan Arabs believed neither a creation past, nor a resurrection to come; attributing the origin of things to nature, and their dissolution to age. Others believed both; among whom were those

[a] Poc. Spec. p. 98. [b] See Ḳur-án, ch. ii. v. 153.
[c] El-Mustaṭraf; El-Jóharee. [d] El-Mustaṭraf; El-Jenábee.

who, when they died, had their camel tied by their sepulchre, and so left without meat or drink to perish, and accompany them to the other world, lest they should be obliged, at the resurrection, to go on foot, which was reckoned very scandalous.[a] Some believed a metempsychosis, and that of the blood near the dead person's brain, was formed a bird named Hámeh, which once in a hundred years visited the sepulchre: though others say that this bird is animated by the soul of him that is unjustly slain, and continually cries "Iskoonee! Iskoonee!" (that is, Give ye me to drink! give ye me to drink!), meaning, of the murderer's blood, till his death be revenged; and then it flies away. This was expressly forbidden by Mohammad to be believed.[b]

Let us now turn our view from the idolatrous Arabs to those, among them, who had embraced more rational religions.

¶ 27. The Persians had, by their vicinity, and their frequent intercourse with the Arabs, introduced the Magian religion among some of their tribes, particularly that of Temeem,[c] a long time before Mohammad, and many of the institutions of that religion are recognized in the Kur-án. Those who are desirous of having some notion of Magism are referred to Dr. Hyde's curious account of it;[d] a succinct abridgement of which may be read with much pleasure in another learned performance.[e]

¶ 28. The Jews, who fled in great numbers into Arabia from the fearful destruction of their country by

[a] Abulfarag. p. 160. [b] *Vide* Poc. Spec. p. 135.
[c] El-Mustatraf. [d] In his Hist. relig. vet. Persar.
[e] Dr. Prideaux's Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and New Testaments, part i. book iv.

the Romans, made proselytes of several tribes, those of Kiṉáneh, El-Ḥárith Ibn-Kaạb, and Kindeth,[a] in particular, and in time became very powerful, and possessed of several towns and fortresses there. But the Jewish religion was not unknown to the Arabs at least above a century before: Ạboo-Kerib As'ad, taken notice of in the Ḳur-án,[b] who was king of El-Yemen about seven hundred years before Moḥammad, is said to have introduced Judaism among the idolatrous Ḥemyerites. Some of his successors also embraced the same religion; one of whom, Yoosuf, surnamed Dhoo-Nuwás,[c] was remarkable for his zeal, and his terrible persecution of all who would not turn Jews, putting them to death by various tortures, the most common of which was throwing them into a glowing pit of fire, whence he had the opprobrious appellation of "the Lord of the Pit." This persecution is also mentioned in the Ḳur-án.[d]

¶ 29. Christianity had likewise made a very great progress among this nation before Moḥammad. Whether St. Paul preached in any part of Arabia, properly so called,[e] is uncertain; but the persecutions and disorders which happened in the eastern church soon after the beginning of the third century obliged great numbers of Christians to seek for shelter in that country of liberty, who being for the most part of the Jacobite communion, that sect generally prevailed among the Arabs.[f] The principal tribes that embraced Christianity were Ḥemyer, Ghassán, Rabee'ah, Teghlib, Bahra, Tanookh,[g] part of the tribes of Ṭeiyi and Ḳuḍá'ah, the inhabitants of Nejrán, and the Arabs of El-Ḥeereh.[h]

[a] El-Mustaṭraf. [b] Chap. l. [c] See before, ¶ 19; and Baronii annal. ad. sec. vi. [d] Chap. lxxxv. [e] See Galat. i. 17. [f] Abulfarag. p. 149.
[g] El Mustaṭraf. [h] *Vide* Poc. Spec. p. 137.

As to the two last, it may be observed, that those of Nejrám became Christians in the time of Dhoo-Nuwás,[a] and very probably were some of the persons alluded to in the following tradition.—The Jews of Ḥemyer challenged some neighbouring Christians to a public disputation, which was held *sub dio* for three days, before the king and his nobility, and all the people; the disputants being Gregentius, bishop of Tephra (supposed to be Ḍhafár), for the Christians, and Herbanus for the Jews. On the third day, Herbanus, to end the dispute, demanded that Jesus of Nazareth, if he were really living, and in heaven, and could hear the prayers of his worshippers, should appear from heaven in their sight, and they would then believe on him; the Jews crying out with one voice, "Show us your Christ, alas, and we will become Christians." Whereupon, after a terrible storm of thunder and lightning, Jesus Christ appeared in the air, surrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, having a sword in His hand, and an inestimable diadem on his head, and spake these words over the heads of the assembly, "Behold, I appear to you in your sight, I who was crucified by your fathers." After which the cloud received Him from their sight. The Christians cried out, "Kyrie eleeson!" that is, "Lord have mercy upon us!" but the Jews were stricken blind, and recovered not till they were all baptized.)[b]

The Christians of El-Ḥeereh received a great accession by several tribes who fled thither for refuge from the persecution of Dhoo-Nuwás. En-Noamán, surnamed Aboo-Ḳáboos, king of El-Ḥeereh, who was slain

[a] El-Jenábee, *apud* Poc. Spec. p. 63.

[b] *Vide* Gregentii disput. cum Herbano Judæo.

a few months before Moḥammad's birth, professed himself a Christian on the following occasion.—This prince, in a drunken fit, ordered two of his intimate companions, who, overcome with liquor, had fallen asleep, to be buried alive. When he came to himself, he was extremely concerned at what he had done, and, to expiate his crime, not only raised a monument to the memory of his friends, but set apart two days, one of which he called the *unfortunate*, and the other the *fortunate* day; making it a perpetual rule to himself, that whoever met him on the former day should be slain, and his blood sprinkled on the monument; but he who met him on the other day should be dismissed in safety, with magnificent gifts. On one of those unfortunate days, there came before him accidentally an Arab of the tribe of Ṭeigi, who had once entertained this king, when fatigued with hunting, and separated from his attendants. The king, who could neither discharge him, contrary to the order of the day, nor put him to death, against the laws of hospitality, which the Arabs religiously observe, proposed, as an expedient, to give the unhappy man a year's respite, and to send him home with rich gifts for the support of his family, on condition that he found a surety for his returning at the year's end, to suffer death. One of the prince's court, out of compassion, offered himself as his surety, and the Arab was discharged. When the last day of the term came, and no news of the Arab, the king, not at all displeased to save his host's life, ordered the surety to prepare himself to die. Those who were by represented to the king that the day was not yet expired, and therefore he ought to have patience till the evening: but in the middle of their discourse, the Arab

appeared. The king, admiring the man's generosity, in offering himself to certain death, which he might have avoided by letting his surety suffer, asked him what was his motive for his so doing; to which he answered, that he had been taught to act in that manner by the religion he professed; and En-Noaman demanding what that religion was, he replied, "The Christian." Whereupon the king desired to have the doctrines of Christianity explained to him, and was baptized, he and his subjects; and not only did he pardon the man and his surety, but he also abolished his barbarous custom.[a] This prince, however, was not the first king of El-Ḥeereh who embraced Christianity; El-Mundhir, his grandfather, having also professed the same faith, and built large churches in his capital.[b]

Since Christianity had made so great a progress in Arabia, we may consequently suppose they had bishops in several parts, for the more orderly governing of the churches. A bishop of Dhafár has been already named, and we are told that Nejrán was also a bishop's see.[c] The Jacobites (of which sect we have observed the Arabs generally were) had two bishops of the Arabs subject to their Mafrián,[d] or metropolitan of the east: one was called the bishop of the Arabs absolutely, whose seat was for the most part at 'A'ḳoola, which some authors make the same with El-Koofeh,[e] and others a different town, near Baghdád.[f] The other had the title of bishop of the Seenite Arabs, of the tribe of Thaalab, in El-Ḥeereh (or Hirta, as the Syrians call it),

[a] El-Meydánee, and Aḥmad Ibn-Yoosuf, *apud* Poc. Spec. p. 71.
[b] Abu-l-Fida, *apud eund.* p. 74. [c] Safee-ed-Deen, *apud eund.* p. 137.
[d] So written by Sale. The Copts call their metropolitan "Maṭrán."—(E.W.L.)
[e] Abu-l-Faraj, in Chron. Syriac. MS. [f] Abu-l-Fida, in descr. Iracæ.

whose seat was in that city. The Nestorians had but one bishop, who presided over both these dioceses, of El-Ḥeereh and 'A'ḳoola, and was immediately subject to their patriarch.[a]

¶ 30. These were the principal religions which obtained among the ancient Arabs; but as freedom of thought was the natural consequence of their political liberty and independence, some of them fell into other different opinions. The tribe of Ḳureysh, in particular, were infected with Zendicism,[b] an error supposed to have very near affinity to that of the Sadducees among the Jews, and, perhaps, not greatly different from deism; for there were several of that tribe, even before the time of Moḥammad, who worshipped one God, and were free from idolatry,[c] and yet embraced none of the other religions of the country.

¶ 31. The Arabs before Moḥammad, were, as they yet are, divided into two sorts, those dwelling in cities and towns, and those dwelling in tents. The former lived by tillage, the cultivation of palm-trees, the breeding and feeding of cattle, and the exercise of all sorts of trades, particularly merchandising,[d] wherein they were very eminent, even in the time of Jacob. The tribe of Ḳureysh were much addicted to commerce; and Moḥammad, in his younger years, was brought up to the same business, it being customary for the Arabs to exercise the same trade that their parents did.[e] The

[a] *Vide* Assemani Bibl. Orient. T. ii. in Dissert. de Monophysitis; and p. 459.

[b] El-Mustaṭraf, *apud* Poc. Spec. p. 136.

[c] *Vide* Reland de Relig. Moham. p. 270; et Millium de Mohammedismo ante Moham. p. 311.

[d] See Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 6. [e] Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 1129.

Arabs who dwelt in tents, employed themselves in pasturage, and sometimes in the pillaging of passengers; they lived chiefly on the milk and flesh of camels; they often changed their habitations, as the convenience of water and pasture for their cattle invited them, staying in a place no longer than that lasted, and then removing to another place.[a] This way of life is what the greater part of Ishmael's posterity have followed, as more agreeable to the temper and way of life of their father. [It has been admirably described by Burckhardt, to whose "Notes on the Bedouins,"[b] as well as to the learned and highly interesting letters of M. Fulgence Fresnel, the reader is referred.]

¶ 32. The Arabic language is undoubtedly one of the most ancient in the world, and arose soon after, if not at, the confusion of Babel. There were several dialects of it, very different from each other; the most remarkable were that spoken by the tribe of Ḥemyer, and the other genuine Arabs (or, as they are considered and called by some, the Muta'arribeh), and that of the tribe of Ḳureysh. Of the Ḥemyeritic we know little more than we can infer from the assertion of the Arabs, that Yaarub was the first whose tongue deviated from the Syriac (which was his mother tongue, and is almost generally acknowledged by the Asiatics to be the most ancient) to the Arabic. [But the late discoveries of M. Fresnel promise to throw much light on this interesting subject.] The dialect of the tribe of Ḳureysh is usually termed the pure Arabic, or (as the Ḳur-ân, which is written in this dialect, calls it) the perspicuous and clear Arabic; perhaps, says Dr. Pocock, because Ishmael, their father, brought the Arabic he had learned

[a] Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 1084. [b] Or Bedawees.

of the Jurhumites nearer to the original Hebrew. But the politeness and elegance of the dialect of Ḳureysh, is rather to be attributed to their having the custody of the Kaabeh, and dwelling in Mekḳeh, the centre of Arabia, as well more remote from intercourse with foreigners, who might corrupt their language, as frequented by the Arabs from the country all around, not only on a religious account, but also for the composing of their differences, from whose discourse and verses they took whatever words or phrases they judged more pure and elegant, by which means, the beauties of the whole tongue became transfused into this dialect. The Arabs are full of commendations of their language, and not altogether without reason, for it claims the preference of most others, in many respects, as being very harmonious and expressive, and withal so copious, that they say no man, without inspiration, can be perfect master of it, in its utmost extent; and yet they tell us, at the same time, that the greatest part of it has been lost. But this will not be thought strange, if we consider that the art of writing was very little practised among them until after the time of Moḥammad. It is even said that most of the Arabs, and those of Mekḳeh in particular, were for many ages perfectly ignorant of that art, unless such of them as were Jews or Christians,[a] until, a little while before the institution of El-Islám, a character differing little from that now generally used by the Arabs, was introduced at Mekḳeh from El-'Eráḳ.[b] [The Koofee, or Cufic character,

[a] See Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 29, 30.

[b] Quelques papyrus nouvellement découverts en Égypte, nous ont appris que le caractère dont les Arabes du Hedjaz se servoient dans le premier siècle de l'Hégire, différoit peu de celui qu 'on appelle *Neskhi.*"—De Sacy, Grammaire Arabe, 2nde ed. tome i. p. 5.—(E. W. L.)

which for many years superseded the former, was a later invention, as its name shows; for the city of El-Koofeh, whence it derived the appellation, was not founded until the seventeenth year of the Flight.]

¶ 33. The accomplishments on which the Arabs chiefly valued themselves, were, 1st. Eloquence, and a perfect skill in their own tongue; 2nd. Expertness in the use of arms, and horsemanship; and 3rd. Hospitality.[a] In the first they exercised themselves by the composition of orations and poems. Their orations were of two sorts, metrical or prosaic; the one being compared to pearls strung, and the other to loose ones. They endeavoured to excel in both; and whoever was able, in an assembly, to persuade the people to a great enterprise, or dissuade them from a dangerous one, or gave them other wholesome advice, was honoured with the title of Khátib, or orator. They pursued a method very different from that of the Greek and Roman orators; their sentences being like loose gems, without connection, so that this sort of composition struck the audience chiefly by the fulness of the periods, the elegance of the expression, and the acuteness of the proverbial sayings; and so persuaded were they of their excelling in this way, that they would not allow any nation to understand the art of speaking in public, except themselves and the Persians, which latter were reckoned much inferior in that respect to the Arabs.[b] Poetry was in so great esteem among them, that it was a great accomplishment, and a proof of ingenious extraction, to be able to express oneself in verse with ease and elegance, on any extraordinary occurrence; and even in their common discourse, they made frequent

[a] Poc. Orat. ante Carmen Tograi, p. 10. [b] Poc. Spec. p. 161.

applications of celebrated passages of their famous poets. In their poems were preserved the distinction of descents, the rights of tribes, the memory of great actions, and the propriety of their language; for which reasons, an excellent poet reflected an honour on his tribe, so that as soon as any one began to be admired for his performances of this kind in a tribe, the other tribes sent publicly to congratulate them on this occasion, and themselves made entertainments. At these the women assisted, decked with their nuptial ornaments, singing to the sound of timbrels the happiness of their tribe, who had now one to protect their honour, to preserve their genealogies and the purity of their language, and to transmit their actions to posterity;[a] for this was all performed by their poems, to which they were solely obliged for their knowledge and instructions, moral and economical, and to which they had recourse, as to an oracle, in all doubts and differences.[b] No wonder, then, that a public congratulation was made on this account, which honour they yet were so far from making cheap, that they never did it but on one of these three occasions, which were reckoned great points of felicity; namely, on the birth of a boy, the rise of a poet, and the fall of a foal of generous breed. To keep up an emulation among their poets, the tribes had, once a-year, a general assembly at 'Okâḍh,[c] a place famous on this account, and where they kept a weekly mart or fair, which was held on our Sunday.[d] This annual meeting lasted a whole month, during which time they employed themselves, not only

[a] Ibn-Rasheeḳ, *apud* Poc. Spec. p. 160.
[b] Poc. Orat. præfix. Carm. Tograi, *ubi supra.*
[c] Poc. Spec. p. 159. [d] Geogr. Nub. p. 51.

in trading, but in repeating their poetical compositions, contending and vying with each other for the prize; whence the place, it is said, took its name.[a] The poems that were judged to excel, were laid up in their king's treasuries, as were the seven celebrated poems, which were thence called el-Mo'allaḳát, rather than from their being hung up on the Kaaḇeh, which honour they also had by public order, being written on Egyptian silk, and in letters of gold; for which reason they had also the name of el-Mudhahhabát, or the *golden* verses.[b]

The fair and assembly at O'káḍh were suppressed by Moḥammad, in whose time, and for some years after, poetry seems to have been in some degree neglected by the Arabs, who were then employed in their conquests, which being completed, and themselves at peace, not only this study was revived,[c] but almost all sorts of learning were encouraged and greatly improved by them. This interruption, however, occasioned the loss of most of their ancient pieces of poetry, which were then chiefly preserved by memory; the use of writing being (as before stated) rare among them in their "time of ignorance."[d]

¶ 34. The exercise of arms and horsemanship they were in a manner obliged to practice and encourage, by reason of the independence of their tribes, whose frequent jarrings made wars almost continual; and they chiefly ended their disputes in field-battles; it being a usual saying among them, that God had bestowed four peculiar things on the Arabs, that their turbans should be to them instead of diadems, their tents instead of

[a] Poc. Spec. p. 159.
[b] *Ibid*, and p. 381; *et in calce* Notar. in Carmen Tograi, p. 233.
[c] Jelál-ed-Deen Es-Suyooṭee, *apud* Poc. Spec. p. 159, &c. [d] *Ib.* p. 160.

walls and houses, their swords instead of intrenchments, and their poems instead of written laws.[a]

¶ 35. Hospitality was so habitual to them, and so much esteemed, that the examples of this virtue among them exceed whatever can be produced from other nations. Ḥátim, of the tribe of Ṭeiyi,[b] and Ḥesn, of that of Fezárah,[c] were particularly famous on this account; and the contrary vice was so much in contempt, that a certain poet upbraids the inhabitants of Wásiṭ, as with the greatest reproach, that none of their men had the heart to give, nor their women to deny.[d] And the Arabs were equally propense to liberality after the coming of Moḥammad. Many remarkable instances of this commendable quality among them might be produced;[e] but the following alone will suffice.—Three men were disputing in the court of the Kaabeh, which was the most liberal person among the Arabs. One gave the preference to 'Abd-Allah, the son of Jaafar the uncle of Moḥammad; another, to Ḳeys Ibn-Saad-Ibn-'Ebádeh;[f] and the third gave it to 'Arábeh of the tribe of Ows. After much debate, one that was present, to end the dispute, proposed that each of them should go to his friend, and ask his assistance, that they might see what every one gave, and form a judgment accordingly. This was agreed to; and 'Abd-Allah's friend, going to him, found him with his foot in the stirrup, just mounting his camel for a journey, and thus accosted him;

[a] Pocock, *in calce* Notar. ad Carmen Tograi.

[b] *Vide* Gentii Notas in Gulistan Sheikh Sadi, p. 486, &c.

[c] Poc. Spec. p. 48.

[d] Ibn-El-Hubeyreh, *apud* Poc. in Not. ad Carmen Tograi, p. 107.

[e] Several may be found in D'Herbelot's Bibl. Orient. particularly in the articles of Hasan the son of Ali, Maan, Fadhel, and Ebn-Yahya.

[f] I am not certain of the orthography of this word.—(E. W. L.)

"Son of the uncle of the Apostle of God, I am travelling and in necessity:" upon which 'Abd-Allah alighted, and bade him take the camel with all that was upon her, but desired him not to part with a sword which happened to be fixed to the saddle, because it had belonged to 'Alee the son of Aḇoo-Ṭálib. So he took the camel, and found on her some vests of silk, and four thousand pieces of gold; but the thing of greatest value was the sword, The second went to Ḳeys Ibn-Saaḍ, whose servant told him that his master was asleep; and desired to know his business. The friend answered that he came to ask Ḳeys's assistance; being in want on the road: whereupon the servant said, that he would rather supply his necessity than wake his master, and gave him a purse of seven thousand pieces of gold, assuring him that it was all the money then in the house. He also directed him to go to those who had the charge of the camels, with a certain token, and take a camel and a slave, and return home with them. When Ḳeys awoke, and his servant informed him of what he had done, he gave him his freedom, and asked him why he did not call him, "For," said he, "I would have given him more." The third man went to 'Arábeh, and met him coming out of his house, in order to go to prayers, and leaning on two slaves, because his eye-sight failed him. The friend no sooner made known his case, but 'Arábeh let go the slaves, and clapping his hands together, loudly lamented his misfortune, in having no money, but desired him to take the two slaves; which the man refused to do, till 'Arábeh protested that, if he would not accept of them, he gave them their liberty; and, leaving the slaves, groped his way along by the wall. On the return of the

adventurers, judgment was unanimously, and with great justice, given by all who were present, that 'Arábeh was the most generous of the three.

¶ 36. The Arabs are also commended by the ancients for being most exact to their words,[a] and respectful to their kindred;[b] and they have always been celebrated for their quickness of apprehension and penetration, and the vivacity of their wit; especially those of the desert.[c]

¶ 37. But they have also, like other nations, their defects and vices. Their own writers acknowledge that they have a natural disposition to war[d] and rapine; being so much addicted to bear malice, that they scarce ever forget an old grudge. This vindictive temper, some physicians say, is occasioned by their frequent feeding on camel's flesh[e] (the ordinary diet of the Arabs of the desert, who are therefore observed to be most inclined to the vices above mentioned), the camel being most malicious, and tenacious of anger;[f] which account suggests a good reason for a distinction of meats. The frequent robberies committed by the Arabs on merchants and travellers, have rendered their name almost infamous in Europe. Of this they are sensible; and

[a] Heredot. lib. iii. c. 8. [b] Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 1129.

[c] *Vide* D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 121.

[d] Sale adds, bloodshed and cruelty; but Burckhardt gives a very different account. "The Turk," he says, "is cruel; the Arab of a more kind temper: he pities and supports the wretched, and never forgets the generosity shewn to him even by an enemy. Not accustomed to the sanguinary scenes that harden and corrupt an Osmanly's heart, the Bedouin learns at an early period of life, to abstain and to suffer, and to know from experience the healing power of pity and consolation."—Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys, vol. i. p. 185.—(E. W. L.)

[e] This again, according to Burckhardt, is a mistake; for he says, that the slaughter of a camel rarely happens. See his Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys, vol. i. p. 63.—(E. W. L.)

[f] *Vide* Poc. Spec. p. 87; and Bochart, Hierozoic., lib. ii. c. 1.

they endeavour to excuse themselves by alleging the hard usage of their father Ishmael, who, being turned out of doors by Abraham, had the open plains and deserts given him by God for his patrimony, with permission to take whatever he could find there. On this account, they think they may, with a safe conscience, indemnify themselves as well as they can, not only on the posterity of Isaac, but also on every body else; always supposing a sort of kindred between themselves and those they plunder; and in relating their adventures of this kind, they think it sufficient to change the expression, and instead of "I robbed a man of such or such a thing," to say, "I gained it."[a]

¶ 38. The sciences which the Arabs chiefly cultivated before El-Islám were three; namely, that of their genealogies and history, such a knowledge of the stars as to foretell the changes of weather, and the interpreta-

[a] La Roque, Voyage dans la Palestine, p. 220, &c.—Sale, led into error by this author, here adds, "We must not however imagine that they are the less honest for this among themselves, or towards those whom they receive as friends; on the contrary, the strictest probity is observed in their camp, where everything is open, and nothing ever known to be stolen." That this statement is incorrect, is evident from the following remarks, in Burckhardt's Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys, vol. i. p. 157 and 158. "The Arabs may be styled a nation of robbers, whose principal occupation is plunder, the constant subject of their thoughts. But we must not attach to this practice the same notions of criminality that we entertain respecting highwaymen, housebreakers, and thieves, in Europe. The Arabian robber considers his profession as honourable, and the term *haramy* (robber) is one of the most flattering titles that could be conferred on a youthful hero. The Arab robs his enemies, his friends, and his neighbours, provided that they are not actually in his own tent, where their property is sacred. To rob in the camp, or among friendly tribes, is not reckoned creditable to a man; yet no stain remains upon him for such an action, which, in fact, is of daily occurrence. But the Arab chiefly prides himself on robbing his enemies, and on bringing away by stealth what he could not have taken by open force. The Bedouins have reduced robbery in all its branches, to a complete and regular system, which offers many interesting details." For these details, the reader is referred to the excellent work from which the above is quoted.—(E.W.L.)

tion of dreams.[a] They used to value themselves excessively for the nobility of their families, and so many disputes happened on that account, that it is no wonder if they took great pains in settling their descents. What knowledge they had of the stars was gathered from long experience, and not from any regular study, or astronomical rules.[b] The Arabs, as the Indians also did, chiefly applied themselves to observe the fixed stars, contrary to other nations, whose observations were almost confined to the planets; and they foretold their effects from their influences, not their nature; and hence, as has been said, arose the difference of the idolatry of the Greeks and Chaldeans, who chiefly worshipped the planets, and that of the Indians, who worshipped the fixed stars. The stars or asterisms by which they most usually foretold the weather were those they call Anwa, or the houses of the moon. These are twenty-eight in number, and divide the zodiac into as many parts, through one of which the moon passes every night. As some of them set in the morning, others rise opposite to them, which happens every thirteenth night; and from their rising and setting, the Arabs, by long experience, observed what changes happened in the air, and at length, as has been said, came to ascribe divine power to them, saying that their rain was from such or such a star.[c] This expression Mohammad condemned, absolutely forbidding them to use it in the old sense, or unless they meant no more by it than that God had so ordered the seasons, that when the moon was in such or such a

[a] Esh-Shahristánee, *apud* Pocock, Orat. *ubi supra*, p. 9; and Spec. p. 164.
[b] Abulfarag. p. 161.
[c] *Vide* Hyde in Not. ad Tabulas stellar. fixar. Ulugh Beigh, p. 5.

mansion or house, or at the rising or setting of such and such a star, it should rain or be windy, be hot or cold.[a]

The old Arabs therefore seem to have made no farther progress in astronomy, which science their posterity cultivated with so much success and applause, than to observe the influence of the stars on the weather, and to give them names; and this it was obvious for them to do, by reason of their pastoral way of life, lying night and day in the open plains. The names they imposed on the stars generally alluded to cattle and flocks; and they were so nice in distinguishing them, that no language has so many names of stars and asterisms as the Arabic; for though they have since borrowed the names of several constellations from the Greeks, yet the far greater part are of their own growth, and much more ancient, particularly the names of the more conspicuous stars, dispersed in several constellations, and those of the lesser constellations which are contained within the greater, and were not observed or named by the Greeks.[b]

Such is a succinct account of the state of the ancient Arabs before Moḥammad, or, to use the Muslim expression, in the Time of Ignorance. We now proceed to consider the establishment of the religion of El-Islám.

[a] Poc. Spec. p. 163, &c. [b] *Vide* Hyde, *ubi supra*, p. 4.

§ II. Of the Establishment of El-Islám.[a]

¶ 1. Mohammad[b] is said to have been born fifty-three years before the Flight, which happened in the year 622 of the Christian era. Although he was of the tribe of Ḳureysh, and the chief men of Mekḳeh, members of that tribe, were his near kinsmen, he came into the world under some disadvantages; but these he soon surmounted. His father 'Abd-Allah was a younger son of 'Abd-El-Muṭṭal'ib, the chief of his tribe, and, dying very young, and in his father's life-time, left his widow and infant son in very mean circumstances, his whole substance consisting but of five camels and an Abyssinian female slave.[c] Abd-El-Muṭṭal'ib was therefore obliged to take care of his grandchild Moḥammad, which he not only did during his life, but at his death he

[a] Until we possess a more complete history of Moḥammad than has yet been published in Europe, we may, in many cases, be greatly misled in judging of the motives to his actions, and of the objects which he had in view. The present section is therefore confined, as much as possible, to the narration of facts; excluding many observations that are made in the pages from which it is almost wholly taken. Respecting the terms, "El-Islám," and "Muslim," see two notes to ¶ 10 of § xii. of the following selections.—(E.W.L.)

[b] The name of Moḥammad, pronounced as Europeans generally write it, with an *e* instead of an *a*, in the last syllable, might be understood by an Arab in an active instead of a passive sense, as signifying "greatly praising" instead of "greatly praised," or "very praiseworthy."—(E.W.L.)

[c] Abulfedæ Vita Moham., p. 2.

enjoined his eldest son Aboo-Ṭálib, who was brother to 'Abd-Allah by the same mother, to provide for him for the future. This Aboo-Ṭálib very affectionately did, instructing him also in the business of a merchant, which he followed; and to that end he took him with him into Syria, when he was but thirteen years of age, and afterwards recommended him to Khadeejeh, a noble and rich widow, for her factor, in whose service he behaved himself so well, that by making him her husband she soon raised him to an equality with the richest in Mekḳeh. His age was then five and twenty years, and hers was forty.[a]

¶ 2. After fifteen years from the period of his marriage, his age being now forty, he announced, for the first time, that he was sent by God to the Black and the Red [or Brown],[b] to restore the only true and ancient religion, which had been professed by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and all the prophets;[c] or, in other words, to destroy the gross idolatry into which the generality of his countrymen had fallen, and by weeding out the corruptions and superstitions which the latter Christians and Jews had introduced into revealed religion, to restore it to its original purity, which consisted chiefly in the worship of one only God.

¶ 3. [The idolatrous religions of the ancient Arabs have been before described, but not all their abominable practices. Of these, it will be sufficient to mention the horrible crime of infanticide, common among several

[a] Abulfedæ Vita Moham. p. 12.

[b] It might be imagined, from this expression, that Mohammad at first designed only the conversion of the Arabs; but the Muslims assert, that by the terms "Black and Red," (or Brown) are meant all mankind, the inhabitants of the hot and of the more northern countries.—(E.W.L.)

[c] See Ḳur-án, ch. ii. v. 3 (§ ii. of the following selections.)

tribes. They were the female children who were put to death, either by burying them alive as soon as they were born, to avoid the expense of maintaining them, or by offering them to idols.[a]]

Christianity, wherever it was professed, in the time of Mohammad, was most grossly corrupted both in doctrine and in practice; and Arabia in particular was famous for its heresies,[b] which may be in some measure attributed to the independence of the tribes. Some of the Christians of that country believed that the soul died with the body, and was to be raised again with it at the last day.[c] These, Origen is said to have convinced.[d] Among the Arabs also the heresies of Ebion, Beryllus, and the Nazaræans,[e] and likewise that of the Collyridians, were broached, or at least propagated. The last introduced the Virgin Mary for God, or worshipped her as such, offering her a sort of twisted cake, called *collyris*, whence the sect had its name.[f] [The notion of the divinity of the Virgin Mary appears, from what is said by commentators on the Ḳur-án, to have prevailed widely among the Christians of Arabia.] Some, also, at the Council of Nice, asserted that there were two gods beside the Father; namely, Christ, and the Virgin Mary; and were thence called Mariamites.[g] Others imagined her to be exempt from humanity, and deified. This opinion is justly condemned in the Ḳur-án.[h] Other sects there were, of many denominations, within the borders of Arabia, which took refuge

[a] El-Beydáwee, cited by Sale, in one of his notes to ch. vi. of the Ḳur-án.
[b] *Vide* Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 16, 17; Sulpic. Sever. in Hist. Sacr. p. 112, &c. [c] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. c. 33. [d] *Idem, ibid.* c. 37.
[e] Epiphan. de Hæresi. lib. i. Hær. 40. [f] *Idem, ibid.* lib. iii. Hæres. 75, 79.
[g] El-Mekeen; Eutychius. [h] Ch. v.

there from the proscriptions of the imperial edicts; and several of their tenets the Ḳur-án confirmed.

With regard to the Jews, though they were an inconsiderable and despised people in other parts of the world, yet in Arabia, whither many of them fled after the destruction of Jerusalem, they grew very powerful, several tribes and princes embracing their religion. Moḥammad at first showed great regard to them; and many of their opinions, doctrines, and customs, were sanctioned by the Ḳur-án; but that people, agreeably to their wonted obstinacy, were so far from being his proselytes, that they were some of the bitterest enemies he had, waging continual war with him, so that their reduction cost him infinite trouble and danger, and at last his life. This aversion of theirs created at length as great a one in him to them, so that he used them, for the latter part of his life, much worse than he did the Christians; and his followers, to this day, observe the same difference between them and the Christians, treating the former as the most abject and contemptible people on earth.

¶ 4. [The general prevalence of idolatry throughout Arabia, the corruptions of Christianity, the errors of Judaism, and the want of a general code of laws, were undoubtedly the principal causes of Moḥammad's preaching. The chief circumstances which, under providence, without the help of the sword, occasioned the religion of El-Islám to take firm root, and to acquire such strength as enabled its disciples successfully to use the sword for their defence, as well as for the punishment of their enemies, and thus, *indirectly*, to increase their number, as will hereafter be shewn, appear to have been these:—the eloquence of the

Ḳur-án; the nature of its principal religious dogmas (which required no one to whom it was preached to renounce altogether his former faith); the general adaptation of its civil and criminal laws to the existing constitution of Arabian society; the political liberty which it conferred upon the mass of its disciples (by making them equal in the eye of the law), while it limited the power of those in authority (by religious obligations); the smallness of the taxes which it imposed; the simplicity, completeness, and consistency, of its whole code (which was to be observed always according to its spirit rather than its letter); and the disunion and independence, and differences of every kind which subsisted among the Pagan, Christian, and Jewish Arabs. Subsequently, the union of the converted Arab tribes, the permission granted to the Muslims to use the sword for their defence, and for retaliation, the promise held out to those who died fighting against the enemies of their faith, and the weakness, misgovernment, and oppressive laws, of the Roman and Persian empires, conduced, with the causes above-mentioned, to facilitate the extension of the dominion and faith of El-Islám throughout the whole of Arabia, and the neighbouring countries.]

¶ 5. Moḥammad had certainly the personal qualifications which were necessary for the accomplishment of his undertaking. The Muslim authors are excessive in their commendations of him, and speak much of his religious and moral virtues, as his piety, veracity, justice, liberality, clemency, humility, and abstinence. His charity, in particular, they say, was so conspicuous, that he had seldom any money in his house, keeping no more for his own use than was just sufficient to main-

tain his family; and he frequently spared even some part of his own provisions to supply the necessities of the poor; so that before the year's end, he had generally little or nothing left.[a] God, says El-Bukhâree, offered him the keys of the treasures of the earth, but he would not accept them. The eastern historians also describe him as a man of an excellent judgment, and a happy memory; and these natural parts were improved by a great experience and knowledge of men, and the observations he had made in his travels. They say he was a person of few words, of an equal and cheerful temper, pleasant and familiar in conversation, of inoffensive behaviour towards his friends, and of great condescension towards his inferiors;[b] to all which were joined a comely, agreeable person, and a polite address, which were of no small service in prepossessing those in his favour whom he attempted to persuade.

As to acquired learning (in the common acceptation of the term), it is confessed that he had none at all, having had no other education than what was customary in his tribe, who neglected, and perhaps despised, what we call literature; esteeming no language in comparison with their own, their skill in which they gained by use, and not by books, and contenting themselves with improving their private experience by committing to memory such passages of their poets as they judged might be of use to them in life. This defect was so far from being prejudicial, or putting a stop to his design, that he made the greatest use of it, insisting that the writings which he produced as revelations from God, could not possibly be a forgery of his own; because it was not conceivable that a person who could

[a] *Vide* Abulfedæ Vit. Moham. p. 144, &c. [b] *Idem, ibid.*

neither write nor read should be able to compose a book of such excellent doctrine, and in so elegant a style; and thereby obviating an objection that might have carried a great deal of weight.[a] And for this reason his followers, instead of being ashamed of their master's ignorance, glory in it, as an evident proof of his divine mission, and scruple not to call him (as he is indeed called in the Ḳur-án itself)[b] the Illiterate Prophet.

That Moḥammad was, as the Arabs are by complexion,[c] a great lover of women, we are assured by his own confession; and he is constantly upbraided on that account by the controversial writers, who fail not to urge the number of his wives as a demonstrative argument of his sensuality, which they think sufficiently proves him to have been a wicked man, and consequently an impostor. But it must be considered, that polygamy, though it be forbidden by the Christian religion, was in Moḥammad's time frequently practised in Arabia and other parts of the east, and was not counted an immorality, nor was a man the worse esteemed on that account; for which reason the plurality of wives was permitted, with certain limitations, to Moḥammad's followers, who argue for the lawfulness of it from several reasons, and particularly from the examples of persons allowed on all hands to have been good men, some of whom have been honoured with the divine correspondence. It must also be observed, that the several laws relating to marriages and divorces, and the peculiar privileges granted to Moḥammad in the

[a] See Kur-án, ch. xxix; and Prideaux's Life of Mah. p. 28, &c.

[b] Chap. vii. v. 156 (§ xvi. ¶ 21 of the following selections.)

[c] Ammian. Marcell. lib. xiv. c. 4.

Ḳur-án, were almost all found in the Jewish code. [A more rational apology for Moḥammad's conduct, with respect to the number of his wives, may, however, be offered. He lived from the age of five-and-twenty to that of fifty years content with one wife; until she died, at the age of sixty-five years, he took no other, and she left him without male issue; for though she bore him four sons, they all died in infancy. It is generally said, that he afterwards took as his wives, at different periods, eleven or twelve women (out of fifteen or thirteen who had been betrothed to him); but not one of them bore him a child. By Máriyeh, a Coptic slave-girl, when he was sixty-one years of age, he had a son, whom he named Ibráheem; this child, however, died before attaining the age of two years. Is it likely that a very sensual man, of a country where polygamy was a common practice, should be content for five-and-twenty years, with one wife, she being fifteen years older than he? And is it not most probable that Moḥammad took so many wives during the last thirteen years of his life, chiefly from a desire of male issue?]

¶ 6. Before Moḥammad made any attempt abroad, he rightly judged that it was necessary for him to begin by the conversion of his own household. Having therefore conducted his family to a cave in Mount Ḥera, near Mekḳeh, whither he had been accustomed to retire for a month in every year, for the purposes of religious contemplation and worship, he there opened the secret of his mission to his wife Khadeejeh. He acquainted her that the angel Gabriel had just before appeared to him, and informed him that he was appointed the apostle of God; telling her that the angel had previously addressed him, saying, "Recite;" whereupon he said,

"And what shall I recite?"—to which Gabriel answered, "Recite, [commencing thus,] In the name of thy Lord, who hath created [all creatures]: he hath created man of a little clot of blood. Recite, and thy Lord is the Most Bountiful, who hath taught [the art of writing] by the pen: He hath taught man that which he knew not."[a]—Khadeejeh received this news with great joy, swearing by Him in whose hand (that is, at whose disposal) was her soul, that she trusted he would be the prophet of his nation? and immediately communicated what she had heard to her cousin Warikah Ibn-Nowfal, who, being a Christian, could write in the Hebrew character, and was tolerably well versed in the Scriptures;[c] and he as readily came in to her opinion, assuring her that the same angel who had formerly appeared unto Moses was now sent to Mohammad.[d] This first overture the Prophet made in the month of Ramadán, in the fortieth year of his age, which he therefore usually called the first of his mission.

¶ 7. Encouraged by so good a beginning, he resolved to proceed, and to try for some time what he could do by private persuasion, not daring to hazard the whole affair by exposing it too suddenly to the public. He soon made proselytes of those under his

[a] This passage, commencing "Recite, in the name of thy Lord," is the first five verses of the 96th chapter of the Kur-án. The words enclosed in brackets are from the Commentary of the Jelálcyn, which also mentions that the first person who wrote with the pen was Idrees.—(E.W.L.)

[b] "I do not remember to have read," says Sale, "in any Eastern author, that Khadeejeh ever rejected her husband's pretences as delusions, or suspected him of any imposture:" yet, see Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 11, &c.

[c] *Vide* Poc. Spec. p. 157.

[d] *Vide* Abulfedæ Vit. Moham. p. 16, where the learned translator has mistaken the meaning of this passage. [The same remark may be justly applied to a multitude of passages in his translation.—(E.W.L.)]

own roof; namely his wife Khadeejeh, his slave Zeyd Ibn-Ḥáritheh (to whom he gave his freedom[a] on that occasion[b]), and his cousin and pupil 'Alee, the son of Aboo-Ṭálib, though then very young: but this last, making no account of the other two, [probably because one was a woman and the other a slave,] used to style himself the first of believers. The next person to whom Moḥammad applied was 'Abd-Allah Ibn-Abee-Ḳoḥáfeh, surnamed Aboo-Bekr, a man of great authority among the tribe of Ḳureysh, and one whose interest he well knew would be of great service to him, as it soon appeared; for Aboo-Bekr, being gained over, prevailed also on 'Othmán Ibn-'Affán, 'Abd-Er-Raḥmán Ibn-'Owf, Saad Ibn-Abee-Waḳḳás, Ez-Zubeyr Ibn-El-'Owwám, and Ṭalḥah Ibn-'Obeyd-Allah, all principal men in Mekḳeh, to follow his example.

¶ 8. These men were the six chief companions, who, with a few more, were converted in the space of three years; at the end of which, Moḥammad, having, as he hoped, a sufficient interest to support him, made his mission no longer a secret, but gave out that God had commanded him to admonish his near relations. In order to do this with more convenience and prospect of success, he directed 'Alee to prepare an entertainment, and invite the sons and descendants of 'Abd-El-Muṭṭal'ib, intending then to open his mind to them. This was done, and about forty of them came; but Aboo-Lahab, one of his uncles, making the company break up before Moḥammad had an opportunity of

[a] For he was his purchased slave, as Abu-l-Fida expressly tells us; and not his cousin-german, as M. de Boulainville asserts (Vie de Mah. p. 273).

[b] Sale here adds, "which afterwards became a rule to his followers;" but the conversion of a person after he has been made a slave, does not entitle him to, and seldom obtains for him, his freedom.—(E.W.L.)

speaking, obliged him to give them a second invitation the next day; and when they were come, he made them the following speech:—"I know not a man among the Arabs who hath brought unto his people a more excellent thing than that which I have brought unto you. I have brought unto you happiness in this life and in that which is to come: for God (whose name be exalted!) hath commanded me to call you unto Him. Then which of you will act as my Wezeer[a] for this affair, that he may be my brother and my commissioner and my vicegerent among you?"—The Prophet then paused for an answer; but all his kinsmen remained silent, until, at length, his cousin 'Alee, with that modesty and enthusiasm which so remarkably distinguished him throughout his life, said, "I will do so; though I am indeed the youngest of them in years, and the most rheumy of them in eyes, and the biggest of them in belly, and the most slender of them in legs: I, O prophet of God, will be thy Wezeer over them."[b]—Moḥammad, upon this, embraced 'Alee with great demonstrations of affection, and desired all who

[a] Commonly written by English authors "Vizier."

[b] Sale omits this characteristic speech of 'Alee; but says, he "*vehemently threatened those who should oppose*" Moḥammad; and other authors render 'Alee's words thus:—"*I will beat out the teeth, pull out the eyes, rip up the bellies, and break the legs of all that oppose you!*" &c. What words to proceed from the mouth of such a person! The mistake originated with Gagnier, who, in his edition of Abu-l-Fida's Life of Moḥammad, has given the original words of this speech with several errors (though they are not sufficient to disguise the true meaning), and thus rendered them:—"*Egomet ita faciam; Ego ipse dentes illis excutiam, oculos eruam, ventrem dissecabo, crura mutilabo:*" &c. (page 19). Sale, it seems, neglected to look at the original Arabic, though, with his knowledge of that language, he must have observed that Gagnier's whole translation abounds with errors. I have it not in my power, at present, to refer to the translation of Abu-l-Fida by Reiske; but am confident that this learned man has correctly rendered the above words of 'Alee.—(E.W.L.)

were present to hearken to and obey him, as his deputy; at which the company broke out into great laughter, telling Aboo-Ṭâlib that he must now pay obedience to his own son.

¶ 9. This repulse, however, was so far from discouraging Moḥammad, that he began to preach in public to the people, who heard him with some patience, till he came to upbraid them with the idolatry, obstinacy, and perverseness, of themselves and their fathers: which so highly provoked them, that they declared themselves his enemies, and would soon have procured his ruin, had he not have been protected by Aboo-Ṭâlib. The chiefs of the tribe of Ḳureysh warmly solicited this person to desert his nephew, making frequent remonstrances against the innovations he was attempting; which proving ineffectual, they at length threatened him with an open rupture, if he did not prevail on Moḥammad to desist. At this, Aboo-Ṭâlib was so far moved, that he earnestly dissuaded his nephew from pursuing the affair any farther, representing the great danger he and his friends must otherwise run. But Moḥammad was not to be intimidated, telling his uncle plainly, that if they set the sun against him on his right hand, and the moon on his left, he would not leave his enterprise: and Aboo-Ṭâlib, seeing him so firmly resolved to proceed, used no further arguments, but promised to stand by him against all his enemies.[a]

¶ 10. The tribe of Ḳureysh, finding that they could prevail neither by fair words nor menaces, tried what they could do by force, and ill treatment; using Moḥammad's followers so very injuriously, that it was not safe for them to continue at Mekḳeh any longer;

[a] Abulfedæ Vita Moham. p. 20 & 21.

whereupon Moḥammad gave leave to such of them as had not friends to protect them to seek for refuge elsewhere. Accordingly, in the fifth year of the prophet's mission, sixteen of them, four of whom were women, fled into Abyssinia; and among them 'Othmán Ibn-'Affán, and his wife Ruḳeiyeh, Moḥammad's daughter. This was the first flight; but afterwards several others followed them, retiring one after another, to the number of eighty-three men and eighteen women, besides children.[a] These refugees were kindly received by the Nejáshee,[b] or the king of Abyssinia, who refused to deliver them up to those whom the tribe of Ḳureysh sent to demand them; and as the Arab writers unanimously attest, even professed the Muslim religion.

¶ 11. In the sixth year of his mission,[c] Moḥammad had the pleasure of seeing his party strengthened by the conversion of his uncle Ḥamzeh, a man of great valour and merit, and of 'Omar Ibn-El-Khaṭṭáb, a person highly esteemed, and once a violent opposer of the prophet.

¶ 12. As persecution generally advances rather than obstructs the spreading of a religion, El-Islám made so great a progress among the Arab tribes, that the tribe of Ḳureysh, to suppress it effectually, if possible, in the seventh year of Moḥammad's mission,[d] made a solemn league or covenant against the families of Háshim and El-Muṭṭal'ib, engaging themselves to contract no marriages with any of them, and to have no communication

[a] Abulfedæ Vita Moham. p. 20 & 21; & Ibn-Esh-Sheḥneh.

[b] Dr. Prideaux seems to take this word for a proper name; but it is only the title the Arabs give to every king of Abyssinia. See his Life of Moh. p. 55.

[c] Ibn-Esh-Sheḥneh. [d] El-Jenábee.

with them; and to give it the greater sanction, reduced it into writing, and laid it up in the Kaạbeh. Upon this, the tribe became divided into two factions; and the family of Háshim all repaired to Aboo-Ṭálib, as their head; except only 'Abd-El-'Ozza, surnamed Aboo-Lahab, who, out of his inveterate hatred to his nephew and his doctrine, went over to the opposite party, whose chief was Aboo-Sufyán Ibn-Ḥarb, of the family of Umeiyeh.

¶ 13. The families continued thus at variance for three years; but in the tenth year of his mission, Moḥammad told his uncle Aboo-Ṭálib that God had manifestly showed his disapprobation of the league which the tribe of Ḳureysh had made against them, by sending a worm to eat out every word of the instrument, except the name of God. With this accident Moḥammad had become acquainted; and Aboo-Ṭálib went immediately to the tribe of Ḳureysh, and informed them of it, offering, if it proved false, to deliver his nephew up to them; but in case it were true, he insisted that they ought to lay aside their animosity, and annul the league which they had made against the family of Háshim. To this they acquiesced; and going to inspect the writing, to their great astonishment, found it to be as Aboo-Ṭálib had said, and the league was thereupon declared void.

¶ 14. In the same year Aboo-Ṭálib died, at the age of above fourscore, and it is the general opinion that he died an infidel, though some say that when he was at the point of death, he embraced El-Islám; and they produce some passages out of his poetical compositions to confirm their assertion. About a month, or, as some write, three days, after the death of this great bene-

factor and patron, Moḥammad had the additional mortification of losing his wife Khadeejeh, who had so generously made his fortune; her age being then (as before mentioned) sixty-five years. This year is therefore called the Year of Mourning.[a]

¶ 15. On the death of these two persons, the tribe of Ḳureysh began to be more troublesome than ever to the prophet, and especially some who had formerly been his intimate friends; insomuch, that he found himself obliged to seek for shelter elsewhere, and first pitched upon Eṭ-Ṭáïf, about seventy-two miles[b] east from Mekḳeh, for the place of his retreat. Thither, therefore, he went, accompanied by his servant Zeyd, and applied himself to two of the chiefs of the tribe of Thaḳeef, who were the inhabitants of that place; but they received him very coldly. However, he stayed there a month; and some of the more considerate and better sort of men treated him with a little respect: but the slaves and inferior people at length rose against him, and bringing him to the wall of the city, obliged him to depart, and return to Mekḳeh, where he put himself under the protection of Muṭ'em Ibn-'Adee.[c]

¶ 16. This repulse greatly discouraged his followers, however, Moḥammad was not wanting to himself. He boldly continued to preach to the public assemblies at the pilgrimage; and while doing so at the 'Aḳabeh (or Mountain-road, in the route of the pilgrims from Mekḳeh to Mount 'Arafát), gained six proselytes, inhabitants of Yethrib (afterwards called El-Medeeneh), of the Jewish tribe of El-Khazraj, who, on their return home, failed not to speak much in commendation of their new

[a] Abulfedæ Vita Moham. p. 28; Ibn-Esh-Sheḥneh. [b] See before, § i. ¶ 6.
[c] Ibn-Esh-Sheḥneh.

religion, and exhorted their fellow-citizens to embrace the same.

¶ 17. In the twelfth year of his mission, Moḥammad related the history of his Night-journey from Mekḳeh to Jerusalem, and his Ascension thence to Heaven. [His followers, however, disputed (as some still do) upon this matter: some asserted that the whole was a vision; others, that the prophet was conveyed bodily to Jerusalem, and that his spirit only ascended thence to heaven; and others, that he performed both the night-journey to Jerusalem, and the ascension to heaven in his body.[a] The opinion of the last generally prevailed; and it seems that Moḥammad did not deny its correctness.] But the story seemed so absurd and incredible to many of his followers, that they left him on this occasion; and it might have ruined his whole design, had not Aboo-Bekr vouched for his veracity, and declared that if Moḥammad affirmed it to be true, he verily believed the whole.

¶ 18. In the same year, which was the next year after the conversion of the six men of Yethrib,[b] twelve men of that city, of whom ten were of the tribe of El-Khazraj, and the other two of that of Ows, came on a pilgrimage, and made a vow of obedience to Moḥammad at the 'Aḳabeh before mentioned.[c] This vow was called the Women's Vow of Obedience, not that any women were present at this time, but because a man was not thereby obliged to take up arms in defence of Moḥammad or his religion; it being the same vow that was afterwards exacted of the women, the form of

[a] Abu-l-Fida. [b] Sale, again following a mistranslation of Gagnier's, renders two words of Abu-l-Fida, signifying "the next year," as meaning "the accepted year." See Abulfedæ Vita Moham. p. 40.—(E.W.L.) [c] In ¶ 16.

which we have in the Ḳur-án,[a] and which was to this effect: *viz.* That they should renounce all idolatry; that they should not steal, nor commit fornication, nor kill their children (as the Pagan Arabs used to do when they apprehended that they should not be able to maintain them), nor forge lies; and that they should obey the prophet in all things that were right. When they had solemnly engaged to do all this, Moḥammad sent one of his disciples, named Muṣ'ab Ibn-'Omeyr, home with them, to instruct them more fully in the grounds and ceremonies of El-Islám.

¶ 19. Mus'ab having arrived at Yethrib, gained by the assistance of those who had been formerly converted, several proselytes, particularly Useyd Ibn-Ḥoḍeyr, a chief man of the city, and Saạd Ibn-Mo'ádh, chief of the tribe of Ows; and El-Islám spread so fast that there was scarce a house wherein there were not some who had embraced it.

¶ 20. At the time of pilgrimage in the next year, being the thirteenth of Moḥammad's mission, Mus'ab returned to Mekḳeh, accompanied by seventy-three men and two women of Yethrib, who had professed El-Islám; and on their arrival they immediately sent to Moḥammad, and offered him their assistance, of which he was now in great need, for his adversaries were by this time grown so powerful in Mekḳeh, that he could not stay there much longer without imminent danger. He therefore accepted their proposal, and met them at night, by appointment, at the 'Aḳabeh (where the first vow of obedience had been made to him), attended by his uncle, El-'Abbás, who, though he was not then a believer, wished his nephew well, and made a

[a] Chap. lx. v. 12.

speech to the men of Yethrib, wherein he told them, that as Moḥammad was obliged to quit his native city, and seek an asylum elsewhere, and they had offered him their protection, they would do well not to deceive him; and that if they were not firmly resolved to defend him and not betray him, they should declare their minds, and let him provide for his safety in some other manner. Upon their protesting their sincerity, Moḥammad swore to be faithful to them, on condition that they should protect him against all insults as heartily as they would their own wives and families. They then asked him what recompense they were to expect if they should happen to be killed in his service? and he answered, "Paradise," whereupon they pledged their faith to him, and so returned home,[a] after Moḥammad had chosen twelve out of their number, who were to have the same authority among them as the twelve apostles of Christ had among his disciples.[b]

¶ 21. Hitherto Moḥammad had employed persuasion only to effect his enterprise: for before this second vow of obedience at the 'Aḳabeh, he had no permission to use any force; and several portions of the Ḳur-án, which he published during his residence at Mekḳeh, declare that his business was only to preach and admonish, and that whether people believed or not, was no concern of his, but belonged solely unto God. So far was he from allowing his followers to use force, that he exhorted them to bear patiently those injuries which were offered them on account of their faith; and when persecuted himself, he chose rather to quit the place of his birth, and retire to El-Medeeneh, than to make any resistance.

[a] Abulfedæ Vita Moham. p. 42, &c. [b] Ibn-Is-ḥáḳ.

[But when the opposition of his enemies had become so great as to threaten the lives of himself and his followers, and the latter were sufficiently numerous to take up arms in self-defence, with a fair prospect of success, he proclaimed that God had allowed him and his followers to defend themselves against the unbelievers;[a] and afterwards, when his enemies had increased in number, and persisted in their opposition, and had broken their vows, his own forces having also increased, he further proclaimed that he had received God's permission to attack and destroy his idolatrous enemies, if they would not atone for their injurious conduct by embracing El-Islám, excepting the women and children, whom, if they remained obstinate, he was commanded to make slaves.

Unprovoked war is clearly contrary to the letter and spirit of the Ḳur-án; but war against the enemies of El-Islám, who have been the first aggressors, is enjoined as a sacred duty; and he who loses his life in fulfilling this duty (if unpaid), is promised the rewards of a martyr. It has been said even by some of their leading doctors, that the Muslims are commanded to

[a] The following is said to be the first passage that was revealed respecting religious war: "Permission is granted unto those who fight (*that is, unto the believers, to fight* [*against the unbelievers*], because they have been treated injuriously *by the unbelievers*, (and verily God is able to assist them), who have been turned out of their dwellings unjustly, *for no reason* save their saying, Our Lord is God *alone*. And if God did not repel some men by others, verily monasteries and churches, and synagogues, and temples *of the Muslims*, wherein the name of God is frequently commemorated, would be demolished."—Chap. xxii. verses 40, 41. The words in italics are from the Commentary of the Jeláleyn, excépt those enclosed in brackets. It is worthy of remark, that the following passage appears to have been published *after* the above;—"[*There shall be*] no compulsion in religion. The right course hath been plainly distinguished from error. *This was revealed as concerning those of the assistants of El-Medeeneh who had children whom they desired to compel to embrace El-Islám.*"—Chap. ii. verse 257. Here, again, the words in italics are from the Commentary of the Jeláleyn.—(E.W.L.)

put to death *all* idolators who refuse to embrace El-Islám, excepting women and children, whom they are to make slaves; but the precepts on which this assertion is founded relate to the Pagan Arabs, who had violated their oaths, and long persevered in their hostility to Moḥammad and his followers. According to the decisions of the most reasonable doctors, the laws respecting other idolators, as well as Christians and Jews, who have drawn upon themselves the hostility of the Muslims, are different. Of such enemies, if reduced by force of arms, refusing to capitulate, or to surrender themselves, the men may be put to death, or be made slaves; and the women and children also, under the same circumstances, may be made slaves: but life and liberty are to be granted to those who surrender themselves by capitulation or otherwise, on the condition of their embracing El-Islám, or paying a poll-tax, unless they have acted perfidiously towards the Muslims, as did the Jewish tribe of Ḳureyḍhah, who, being in league with Moḥammad, went over to his enemies, and aided them against him: for which conduct, when they surrendered, the men were slain, and the women and children were made slaves.

When Moḥammad's party had become sufficiently numerous and powerful to put those laws in execution, by achieving repeated victories over enemies who might easily have overwhelmed them but for want of union, the number of the nominal Muslims was thereby rapidly increased, and the faith of El-Islám *indirectly* propagated. It might be supposed that the Pagan Arabs in general regarded victory not only as the effect of divine aid, but also as an evidence of divine approbation, and consequently that the faith of Moḥammad

was, in a great degree, propagated *directly* by the sword, as he was generally, though not uniformly, successful in his wars. This, however, does not appear to have been the case; for as long as there appeared to be any probability of Mohammad's downfal, those who professed El-Islám, on their being overcome in war were, with few exceptions, not those who were beaten in the field, and who were able to effect their escape, but the captives, and the inhabitants of captured towns. We must therefore conclude that the generality of those professed converts were at first insincere. Still the faith might have been propagated *mainly*, though *not directly*, by the sword, if these converts, continuing insincere, were induced by fear of the sword, not by conscientious motives, to bring up their children as believers in it, seeing that their posterity, in process of time, composed the main portion of the body of Muslims; but their subsequent sincerity is unquestionable. Had they continued insincere, they must have subverted the faith which they professed to hold; for in the course of a few years, this class of proselytes became very far superior in number to those who had professed the faith without compulsion. If many remained hypocrites, the number of conscientious Muslims must always have been greater. It may be said, that the same spirit of disunion which prevailed among the Arab tribes at the period when they were subdued by Mohammad, perhaps prevented their afterwards revolting, and therefore that they generally persevered in insincere professions; but one of the most remarkable consequences of the profession of his faith was the almost total cessation of those feuds which had before been so common. And if the conquered tribes could suppress

their mutual animosities, and act in concert against Moḥammad's enemies, why did they not, if they were hypocrites, conspire against his undoubted friends, who were still few in comparison with themselves? It appears, then, that the sword made hypocrites, who were afterwards rendered sincere converts by the same circumstances which, without the sword, had caused the establishment and growth of El-Islám.]

¶ 22. Moḥammad having provided for the security of his companions, as well as his own safety (by the league which he had now concluded with the party from Yethrib), directed them to repair thither, which they accordingly did; but himself, with Aboo-Bekr and 'Alee, stayed behind, waiting, it is said, until they should have received the divine permission to leave Mekḳeh. The tribe of Ḳureysh, fearing the consequence of this new alliance, began to think it absolutely necessary to prevent Moḥammad's escape to Yethrib; and having held a council thereon, after several milder expedients had been rejected, they came to a resolution that he should be killed, and agreed that a man should be chosen out of every tribe for the execution of this design, and that each man should have a blow at him with his sword, that the guilt of his blood might fall equally on all the tribes, to whose united power the family of Háshim were much inferior, wherefore they would not dare to revenge their kinsman's death.

¶ 23. This conspiracy was scarcely formed when Moḥammad announced that it had been revealed to him by the angel Gabriel, who had now ordered him to retire to Yethrib, or El-Medeeneh. He directed 'Alee to lie down in his place, to cover himself with his grey

burd,[a] and to stay behind, in order to deliver, to their owners, some deposits with which he (Moḥammad) had been entrusted. He then escaped to Aboo-Bekr's house, unperceived by the conspirators, who had already assembled at the prophet's door. They in the mean time, looking in, and seeing 'Alee, whom they took to be Moḥammad himself, asleep, continued watching there till morning, when 'Alee arose, and they found themselves deceived.

From Aboo-Bekr's house, Moḥammad and he went to a cave in Mount Thór, about an hour and a half south of Mekkeh,[b] accompanied only by 'A'mir Ibn-Fuheyreh, Aboo-Bekr's servant, and 'Abd-Allah Ibn-Ureyḳiṭ, an idolator, whom they had hired for a guide. In this cave they lay hid three days, to avoid the search of their enemies, which they very narrowly escaped, and not without the assistance of more miracles than one: for some say that their pursuers were struck with blindness, so that they could not find the cave: others, that after Moḥammad and his companions had entered, two doves laid their eggs at the entrance, and a spider covered the mouth of the cave with her web,[c] which

[a] The burd, or burdeh, is an oblong piece of thick woollen stuff, used to envelope the body by day, and also as a night covering, and generally brown or grayish. It appears to have been, in earlier times, always striped: but some modern burdehs are plain, and others have stripes so narrow, and near together, that at a little distance the stuff appears to be of one colour. The prophet's burdeh is described as about seven feet and a half in length, and four and a half in width. It seems to be unknown to some Arabic scholars, that the terms "akhḍar," and "aḥmar," which are applied by different historians to the prophet's burdeh, are used to signify respectively "grey" and "brown," as well as "green" and "red."—(E.W.L.)

[b] According to Burckhardt, Travels in Arabia, p. 176.—(E.W.L.)

[c] It is observable that the Jews have a like tradition concerning David, when he fled from Saul into the cave; and the Targum paraphrases these words of the second verse of Psalm lvii. (which was composed on occasion of that deliverance),

made them look no farther.[a] Aboo-Bekr, seeing the prophet in such imminent danger, became very sorrowful, whereupon Moḥammad comforted him with these words, recorded in the Ḳur-án,[b] "Grieve not; for God is with us." Their enemies having retired, they left the cave, and set out for El-Medeeneh, by a by-road; and, having, as the Muslim historians relate, escaped some who were sent to pursue them, arrived safely at that city; whither 'Alee followed them in three days, after he had settled his affairs at Mekḳeh.[c]

¶ 24. [It is the general opinion of our chronologers, that the first day of the Muslim era of "the Flight," (or, more properly, "the Emigration,") was Friday, the 16th of July, A.D. 622. It must be remarked, that the Arabs generally commence each month on the night in which the new moon is actually seen;[d] and this night is, in most cases, the second, but sometimes and in some places, the third, after the true period of the new moon: if, however, the moon is not seen on the second or third night, the month is commenced on the latter. The new moon of July, A.D. 622, happened between five and six o'clock in the morning of the 14th; therefore the 16th was most probably the first *day* of the era.—This era does not commence from the day on which the prophet departed from Mekḳeh (as is supposed by most of our authors who have mentioned this subject), but from the first day of the moon or month of Moḥarram preceding that event. It is said

"I will pray before the most high God that performeth all things for me," in this manner, "I will pray before the most high God, who called a spider to weave a web for my sake in the mouth of the cave."

[a] El-Beyḍáwee, in Ḳur-án, ch. ix.—*Vide* D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient p. 445.

[b] Chap. ix. v. 40. [c] Abulfedæ vita. Moh. p. 50, &c. Ibn-Es-Shelḥneh.

[d] The civil day commences at sunset.

that Moḥammad, after he had remained three days concealed in the cave, with Aboo-Bekr, began his journey, or "the Flight," to El-Medeeneh, on the ninth day of the third month (Rabeeạ el-Owwal), sixty-eight days after the period at which the era commences. Thus the first two months are made of thirty days each, which is often the case when the calculation from the actual sight of the new moon is followed; and the flight itself, from the cave, may be inferred to have commenced on the 22nd of September. It may be added, that this record, by shewing that each of the first two months consisted of thirty days, confirms the supposition that the era commenced on the 16th of July. On the eve of the 15th, the moon was not visible.]

¶ 25. The first thing that Moḥammad did after his arrival at El-Medeeneh, was to build a temple for his religious worship, and a house for himself, which he did on a parcel of ground that had before served to put camels in, or, others tell us, for a burying-ground, and belonging to two orphan youths,[a] who, according to some, gave it,[b] and according to others, sold it to him.[c]

¶ 26. Being now securely settled at El-Medeeneh, and able not only to defend himself against the insults of his enemies, but also to attack them in retaliation, he began to send out small parties to make reprisals on the tribe of Ḳureysh; the first party consisting of no more than nine men, who intercepted and plundered a caravan belonging to that tribe, and in the action took two prisoners. But what established his affairs very much, and was the foundation on which he built all his

[a] Abulfedæ Vita Moh. p. 52, 53. [b] El-Bukhâree, in Sunneh. [c] El-Jenábee.

succeeding greatness, was the gaining of the battle of Bedr, which was fought in the second year of the Flight, and is so famous in Arabian history. As our design is not to write the life of Moḥammad, but only to describe the manner in which he carried on his enterprise, we shall not enter into any detail of his subsequent battles and expeditions, which amounted to a considerable number. Some reckon no less than twenty-seven expeditions wherein Moḥammad was personally present, in nine of which he gave battle, besides several other expeditions in which he was not present.[a] His forces he maintained partly by the contributions of his followers for religious uses, which he called by the name of alms, and the paying of which was made obligatory, as one main article of the religion; and partly by ordering a fifth part of the plunder to be brought into the public treasury for the same and other purposes, as explained in the Ḳur-án.[b]

¶ 27. In a few years, by the success of his arms, (though he was sometimes defeated,) he considerably raised his credit and power. In the sixth year of the Flight, he set out with fourteen hundred men to visit the Temple of Mekḳeh, not with any intent of committing hostilities, but in a peaceable manner. However, when he came to El-Ḥodeybiyeh, which is situate partly within and partly without the sacred territory, the tribe of Ḳureysh sent to let him know that they would not permit him to enter Mekḳeh, unless he forced his way; whereupon he called his troops about him, and they all took a solemn oath of fealty or homage to him, and he resolved to attack the city. But the people of Mekḳeh sending 'Orweh Ibn-Mes-'ood,

[a] Abulfedæ Vita Moh. p. 158. [b] Chap. viii. v. 42.

chief of the tribe of Thaḳeef, as their ambassador, to desire peace, a truce was concluded between them for ten years, by which any person was allowed to enter into a league either with Moḥammad or with the tribe of Ḳureysh, as he might think fit.

¶ 28. In the seventh year of the Flight, Moḥammad began to think of propagating his religion beyond the bounds of Arabia, and sent messengers to the neighbouring princes, with letters to invite them to El-Islám, not without some success.

Khusrow Parvéz, then king of Persia, received his letter with great disdain, and rent it in a passion, sending away the messenger very abruptly; on hearing which, Moḥammad said, "God shall rend his kingdom." And soon after, a messenger came to Moḥammad from Bádhán, king of El-Yemen, who was a dependent on the Persians,[a] to acquaint him that he had received orders to send him to Khusrow. Moḥammad put off his answer till the next morning, and then told the messenger it had been revealed to him that night that Khusrow was slain by his son Shérooyah; adding that he was well assured his new religion and empire should rise to as great a height as Khusrow's; and therefore he bade him advise his master to embrace El-Islám. The messenger having returned, Bádhán in a few days received a letter from Shérooyah informing him of his father's death, and ordering him to give the prophet no further disturbance; whereupon Bádhán and the Persians with him became Muslims.[b]

The emperor Heraclius, as the Arabian historians assure us, received Moḥammad's letter with great respect, laying it on his pillow, and dismissed the

[a] See before, § i. ¶ 19. [b] Abulfedæ Vita Moh. p. 92, &c.

bearer honourably. And some pretend that he would have professed El-Islám, had he not been afraid of losing his crown.[a]

Moḥammad wrote to the same effect to the king of Abyssinia, though he had been converted before, according to the Arab writers; and to the Muḳowḳis,[b] or governor of Egypt, who gāve the messenger a very favourable reception, and sent several very valuable presents to Moḥammad, and among them two girls, one of whom, named Máriyeh (or Mary[c]), became a great favourite with him. He also sent letters of the like purport to several Arab princes, particularly one to Ibn-Abee-Shemir,[d] king of Ghassán, who returning for answer that he would go to Moḥammad himself, the prophet said, "May his kingdom perish!" Another he sent to Howdeh Ibn-'Alee, king of El-Yemámeh, who was a Christian, and, having some time before professed El-Islám, had lately returned to his former faith. This prince sent back a very rough answer, upon which Moḥammad cursing him, he died soon after. Another letter he sent to El-Mundhir Ibn-Sáwa,[e] king of El-Baḥreyn, who embraced El-Islám, and all the Arabs of that country followed his example.[f]

¶ 29. The eighth year of the Flight was a very fortunate year to Moḥammad. In the beginning of it, Khalid Ibn-El-Weleed and 'Amr Ibn-El-'A'ṣ,[g] both excellent soldiers, the first of whom afterwards con-

[a] El Jenábee. [b] According to the Ḳámoos, this was the title of every one who ruled over Miṣr (the capital of Egypt) and Alexandria.—(E. W. L.)

[c] It is, however, a different name from that of the Virgin Mary, which the Orientals always write "Maryam," or Miriam.

[d] This prince is omitted in Dr. Pocock's list of the kings of Ghassan; Spec. p. 77.

[e] I am not certain of the orthography of this word "Sáwa."—(E.W.L.)

[f] Abulfedæ Vita Moh. p. 94, &c.

[g] Commonly called 'Amr Ibn-El-'A'see.—(E.W.L.)

quered Syria and other countries, and the latter, Egypt, became Muslims. Soon after, the prophet sent three thousand men against the Grecian forces, to revenge the death of one of his ambassadors, who, being sent to the governor of Buṣra on the same errand as those who went to the above-mentioned princes, was slain by an Arab of Ghassán, at Mooteh, a town in the territory of Balḳa, in Syria, about three days journey eastward from Jerusalem, near which town they encountered. The Greeks being vastly superior in number (for, including the auxiliary Arabs, they had an army of about a hundred thousand men), the Muslims were repulsed in the first attack, and lost successively three of their generals, namely Zeyd Ibn-Ḥáritheh (Moḥammad's freedman), Jaafar the son of Aboo-Ṭálib, and 'Abd-Allah Ibn-Rawáḥah; but Kháled Ibn-El-Weleed, succeeding to the command, overthrew the Greeks with a great slaughter, and brought away abundance of rich spoil;[a] on occasion of which, Moḥammad gave him the honourable title of "One of the swords of God."[b]

¶ 30. In this year also, Moḥammad took the city of Mekḳeh, the inhabitants of which had broken the truce concluded two years before. For the tribe of Bekr, who were confederates of the tribe of Ḳureysh, attacking those of Khuzá'ah, who were allies of Moḥammad, killed several of them, being supported in the action by a party of the tribe of Ḳureysh. The consequence of this violation was soon apprehended; and Aboo-Sufyán himself made a journey to El-Medeeneh on purpose to heal the breach and renew the truce;[c] but in vain; for

[a] Abulfedæ Vita Moh. p. 99, 100, &c. [b] El-Bukháree, in Sunneh.

[c] This circumstance is a plain proof that the tribe of Ḳureysh had actually broken the truce, and that it was not a mere pretence of Moḥammad's, as Dr. Prideaux insinuates; Life of Mah. p. 94.

Moḥammad, glad of this opportunity, refused to see him; whereupon he applied to Aboo-Bekr and 'Alee; but they giving him no answer, he was obliged to return to Mekḳeh as he came.

Moḥammad immediately gave orders for preparations to be made, that he might surprise the people of Mekḳeh while they were unprovided to receive him: in a little time he began his march thither; and by the time that he came near the city, his forces were increased to ten thousand men. The people of Mekḳeh, not being in a condition to defend themselves against so formidable an army, surrendered at discretion, and Aboo-Sufyán saved his life by professing El-Islám. About twenty-eight of the idolators were killed by a party under the command of Khálid; but this happened contrary to Moḥammad's order, who, when he entered the town, pardoned all the tribe of Ḳureysh, on their submission, except only six men and four women, who were especially obnoxious (some of them having apostatized), and were solemnly proscribed by the prophet himself: but of these, no more than three men and one woman were put to death, one woman making her escape, and the rest obtaining pardon on their embracing El-Islám.[a]

¶ 31. The remainder of this year Moḥammad employed in destroying the idols in and round about Mekḳeh, sending several of his generals on expeditions for that purpose, and to invite the Arabs to El-Islám; wherein it is no wonder if they now met with success.

¶ 32. The next year, being the ninth of the Flight, the Muslims call the year of Embassies: for the Arabs had been hitherto expecting the issue of the war be-

[a] Abulfedæ Vita Moh. c. 121, 122.

tween Moḥammad and the tribe of Ḳureysh; but so soon as this tribe, the principal of the whole nation, and the genuine descendants of Ishmael, whose prerogatives none offered to dispute, had submitted, they were satisfied that it was not in their power to oppose Moḥammad, and therefore began to come in to him in great numbers, and to send embassies to make their submission to him, both to Mekḳeh while he stayed there, and also to El-Medeeneh, whither he returned this year.[a] Among the rest, five kings of the tribe of Ḥemyer professed El-Islám, and sent ambassadors to notify the same.[b]

¶ 33. In the tenth year, 'Alee was sent into El-Yemen to propagate there the faith of El-Islám, and, as it is said, converted the whole tribe of Hemdán in one day. Their example was quickly followed by all the inhabitants of that province, except only those of Nejrán, who, being Christians, chose rather to pay tribute.[c]

¶ 34. Thus was El-Islám established, and idolatry rooted out, in Moḥammad's life-time (for he died the next year), throughout all Arabia, except only El-Yemámeh; where Museylimeh, who set up also for a prophet, as Moḥammad's competitor, had a great party, and was not reduced until the time of the Khaleefeh Aboo-Bekr. The Arabs being then united in one faith and under one prince, found themselves in a condition to make those conquests which extended the dominion of the Muslims, and consequently their faith, over so great a part of the world.

[a] *Vide* Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 121.
[b] Abulfedæ Vita Moh. p. 128. [c] *Idem*, p. 129.

§ III. Of the Ḳur-án.

¶ 1. The word "Ḳur-án," derived from the verb "ḳaraä," "he read," signifies properly "the reading," or rather, "that which ought to be read." By this name the Muslims denote not only the entire book or volume of the Ḳur-án, but also any particular chapter or section of it; just as the Jews call either the whole Scripture or any part of it by the name of "Karâh," or "Mikra,"[a] words of the same origin and import. This observation seems to overthrow the opinion of some learned Arabs, who would have the Ḳur-án to be so named because it is a collection of the loose chapters or sheets which compose it; the verb "ḳaraä" signifying also "he gathered" or collected:"[b] and may also, by the way, serve as an answer to those who object[c] that the Ḳur-án must be a book forged at once, and could not possibly be revealed by parcels, at different times, during the course of several years, as the Muslims affirm, because the Ḳur-án is often mentioned, and called by that name, in the very book itself. It may not be amiss to observe, that the syllable "El" in the

[a] This name was at first given to the Pentateuch only: Nehem. viii. *Vide* Simon Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test., l. i., c. 9.

[b] *Vide* Erpen. Not. ad Hist. Joseph., p 3. [c] Marracc. de Alcor., p. 41.

appellation " El-Ḳur-án" (often written " Alcoran") is only the Arabic article, signifying " the," and therefore ought to be omitted when the English article is prefixed.

Besides this peculiar name, the Ḳur-án is also honoured with several appellations common to other books of scripture; as " El-Furḳán," from the verb " faraḳa," " he divided" or " distinguished;" not, as the Muslim doctors say, because those books are divided into chapters or sections, or distinguish between good and evil; but in the same notion that the Jews use the word " Perek," or " Pirka," from the same root, to denote a section or portion of scripture.[a] It is also called " El-Mus-ḥaf" (" The Volume,") and " El-Kitáb" (" The Book"), by way of eminence, (which answers to the " Biblia" of the Greeks,) and " Edh-Dhikr" (" The Admonition"), which name is also given to the Pentateuch, and the Gospel.

¶ 2. The Ḳur-án is divided into 114 portions of very unequal lengths, which we call " Chapters," but the Arabs, " Suwar," in the singular " Soorah," a word rarely used on any other occasion, and properly signifying " a row," " order," or " regular series," as a course of bricks in building, or a rank of soldiers in an army; and is the same in use and import with the " Sûra" or " Tora" of the Jews, who also call the fifty-three sections of the Pentateuch " Sedârim," a word of the same signification.[b]

[a] *Vide* Gol. in append. ad Gram. Arab. Erpen., 175.—A chapter or subdivision of the Massictoth of the Mishna is also called Perek. Maimon. præf. in Seder Zeraim, p. 57.

[b] *Vide* Gol., *ubi supra*, 177.—Each of the six grand divisions of the Mishna is also called Seder.—Maimon. *ubi supra*, p. 55.

These chapters are not, in the manuscript copies, distinguished by their numerical order, but by particular titles, which (except that of the first, which is the initial chapter, or introduction to the rest) are taken sometimes from a particular matter treated of, or person mentioned therein; but usually from the first word of note, exactly in the same manner as the Jews have named their Sedârim; though the word from which some chapters are denominated is very far distant, towards the middle, or perhaps the end of the chapter. But the occasion of this seems to have been, that the verse or passage wherein such word occurs was, in point of time, revealed, and committed to writing, before the other verses of the same chapter, which precede it in order: and the title being given to the chapter before it was completed, or the passages reduced to their present order, the verse from which such title was taken did not always happen to begin the chapter. Some chapters have two or more titles, occasioned by the differences of the copies.

Some of the chapters having been revealed at Mekḳeh, and others at El-Medeeneh, the noting this difference makes a part of the title: but several of the chapters are said to have been revealed partly at Mekḳeh and partly at El-Medeeneh; and as to others, it is yet a dispute among the commentators to which place of the two they belong.

Every chapter is subdivided into smaller portions, of very unequal lengths also, which we customarily call verses; but the Arabic word is "A'yát," the same with the Hebrew "Ototh," and signifies "signs," or "wonders," such as are the secrets of God, his attributes, works, judgments, and ordinances, delivered in those verses; many of which have their particular

titles also, imposed in the same manner as those of the chapters. Notwithstanding this subdivision is common and well known, there are few, if any, manuscript copies wherein the verses are actually numbered; though in some copies, the number of verses in each chapter is set down after the title. The Muslims seem to have some scruple in making an actual distinction in their copies, because the chief disagreement between their several editions of the Ḳur-án[a] consists in the division and number of the verses.

The Ḳur-án is also divided into thirty sections, which are of equal lengths; each of these is divided into two portions,[b] and these are again subdivided.

Next after the title, at the head of every chapter, except only the ninth, is prefixed the following solemn form; "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful;" which form they constantly place at the beginning of all their books, and some other writings, as a peculiar mark or distinguishing characteristic of their religion; it being counted a sort of impiety to omit it. The Jews for the same purpose make use of the form, "In the name of the Lord," or "In the name of the Great God;" and the eastern Christians that of "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of

[a] There are seven principal editions, if we may so call them, or ancient copies, of the Ḳur-án; two of which were published and used at El-Medeeneh, a third at Mekḳeh, a fourth at El-Koofeh, a fifth at El-Baṣrah, a sixth in Syria, and a seventh called the common or vulgar edition: but they are all said to contain the same number of words, and of letters; for the Muslims have in this also imitated the Jews, in numbering the very words and letters of their law. They have even taken the pains to compute the number of times each particular letter of the alphabet is contained in the Ḳur-án.—*Vide* Reland. de relig. Moh., p. 25.

[b] The Jews likewise have an ancient division of their Mishna into sixty portions, called Massictoth.—*Vide* Gol., *ubi supra*. p. 178: Maimon. præf. in Seder Zeraim, p. 57.

the Holy Ghost." The Persian Magi also used to begin their books in these words, "In the name of the Most Merciful, Just God."[a]—This auspicatory form, and also the titles of the chapters, are by the generality of the doctors and commentators believed to be of divine original, no less than the text itself; but the more moderate are of opinion that they are only human additions, and not the very word of God.

There are twenty-nine chapters of the Ḳur-án which have this peculiarity, that they begin with certain letters of the alphabet; some with a single one; others with more. These letters the Muslims believe to be the peculiar marks of the Ḳur-án, and to conceal several profound mysteries, the certain understanding of which the more intelligent confess has not been communicated to any mortal, their prophet only excepted.

¶ 3. The Ḳur-án is universally allowed to be written with the utmost elegance and purity of language, in the dialect of the tribe of Ḳureysh, the most noble and polite of all the Arabs, but with some mixture, though very rarely, of other dialects. It is confessedly the standard of the Arabic tongue, and, as the more orthodox believe, and are taught by the book itself, inimitable by any human pen (though some sectaries have been of another opinion); and therefore it is insisted on as a permanent miracle, greater than that of raising the dead,[b] and alone sufficient to convince the world of its divine original.

To this miracle did Moḥammad himself chiefly appeal for the confirmation of his mission, publicly challenging the most eloquent men in Arabia, which

[a] Hyde, Hist. rel. vet. Pers., p. 14.

[b] Aḥmad 'Abd-El-Ḥaleem, *apud* Marracc. de Alcor., p. 43.

was at that time stocked with thousands whose sole study and ambition it was to excel in elegance of style and composition,[a] to produce even a single chapter that might be compared with it.[b] One instance, out of several, will suffice to show that this book was really admired for the beauty of its composition by those who must be allowed to have been competent judges. A poem of Lebeed Ibn-Rabee'ah, one of the greatest wits in Arabia in Moḥammad's time, being fixed up on the gate of the Temple of Mekḳeh, (an honour allowed to none but the most esteemed performances,) none of the other poets dared offer anything of their own in competition with it. But the second chapter of the Ḳur-án being fixed up by it soon after, Lebeed himself (then an idolator), on reading the first verses only, was struck with admiration, and immediately professed the religion taught thereby, declaring that such words could proceed from an inspired person only. This Lebeed was afterwards of great service to Moḥammad, in writing answers to the satires and invectives that were made on him and his religion by the infidels, and particularly by 'Amru-El-Ḳeys,[c] prince of the tribe of Asad,[d] and (like Lebeed) author of one of those seven famous poems called El-Mo'allaḳát.[e]

The style of the Ḳur-án is generally beautiful and

[a] A noble writer therefore mistakes the question when he says "These eastern religionists leave their sacred writ the sole standard of literate performance by extinguishing all true learning." For though they were destitute of what we call learning, yet they were far from being ignorant, or unable to compose elegantly in their own tongue.—See Lord Shaftesbury's Characteristics, vol. iii. p. 235.

[b] El-Ghazàlee, *apud* Poc. Spec. p. 191.—See Ḳur-àn, ch. xvii., v. 90; and also ch. ii. v. 21; and ch. xi. v. 16: (or § xxiii. ¶ 13 and 14 of the following selections).

[c] D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient., p. 512, &c. [d] Poc. Spec., p. 80.

[e] See before, § i. ¶ 33.

fluent, but concise, and often obscure; adorned with bold figures after the eastern taste, enlivened with florid and sententious expressions, and in many places, especially where the majesty and attributes of God are described, sublime and magnificent. [But of its various excellencies and peculiarities, only a very imperfect notion can be formed from the following translated extracts.] Though it is written in prose, yet the sentences generally conclude in a long-continued rhyme; for the sake of which, the sense is often interrupted. The Arabs so admire this rhyming prose, that they employ it in their most elaborate compositions, which they also embellish with frequent passages of, and allusions to, the Ḳur-án, so that it is next to impossible to understand them without being well versed in this book.

It is probable that the harmony of expression which the Arabs find in the Ḳur-án contributed not a little to make the early disciples relish the doctrine therein taught, and gave an efficacy to arguments which, had they been nakedly proposed, without this rhetorical dress, might not have so easily prevailed. Very extraordinary effects are related of the power of words well chosen and artfully placed, which are no less powerful either to ravish or amaze than music itself; wherefore as much has been ascribed by the best orators to this part of rhetoric as to any other.[a] [Moreover, it is probable that the Ḳur-án was *chanted* by Moḥammad and his companions, as it generally is by the Muslims of the present day, in a very impressive and peculiar manner, which delights, for many hours together, those

[a] See Casaubon, of Enthusiasm, chap. iv.

who listen to it, insomuch that a khatmeh (or the chanting of the whole of the Ḳur-an) is a favourite performance at private entertainments.] Such was the impression produced on the minds of his audience by Moḥammad's recitations of the Ḳur-án, that several of his opponents thought it the effect of enchantment.[a]

¶ 4. The great doctrine of the Ḳur-án is the unity of God; it being laid down therein as a fundamental truth, that there never was, and never can be, more than one true religion; for though the particular laws or ceremonies are only temporary, and subject to alteration according to the divine direction, yet the substance of it, being eternal truth, is not liable to change, but continues immutable the same. It teaches that whenever this religion became neglected, or corrupted in essentials, God had the goodness to re-inform and re-admonish mankind thereof, by several prophets, of whom Moses and Jesus were the most distinguished till the appearance of Moḥammad, who is their seal, no other being to be expected after him. And the more effectually to engage people to hearken to him, large portions of the Ḳur-án are employed in relating examples of dreadful punishments formerly inflicted by God on those who rejected and abused his messengers. Most of these stories had been partly or wholly handed down by the traditions of the Arabs, Jews, and Christians; and some are related nearly as in the Old and New Testaments, which the Jews and Christians are charged with having altered. The other parts of the Ḳur-an are taken up in giving necessary laws and directions, in frequent admonitions to moral and divine virtues, and

[a] See Ḳur-án, ch. xxi. v. 2 and 3 (or § xxiii. ¶ 12, of the following selections).

above all, to the worshipping and reverencing of the only true God, and resignation to his will. But besides these, there are a great number of passages which are occasional, and relate to particular emergencies. If any objection be hence made to that eternity of the Ḳur-án which the Muslims are taught to believe, they easily answer it by their doctrine of absolute predestination; according to which, all the accidents for the sake of which these occasional passages were revealed, were predetermined by God from all eternity.

¶ 5. The Muslims absolutely deny that the Ḳur-án was composed by their prophet himself, or by any other for him; it being their general and orthodox belief that it is of divine original; nay, that it is eternal and uncreated, remaining, as some express it, in the very essence of God; that the first transcript has been from everlasting by God's throne, written on a tablet of vast size, called the Preserved Tablet, in which are also recorded the divine decrees, past and future; that a copy from this tablet, in one volume on paper, was, by the ministry of the angel Gabriel, sent down to the lowest heaven, in the month of Ramaḍán, on the Night of Power;[a] whence Gabriel revealed it to Moḥammad by parcels, some at Mekḳeh, and some at El-Medeeneh, at different times, during the space of twenty-three years, as the exigency of affairs required; giving him, however, the consolation to show him the whole (which they tell us was bound in silk, and adorned with gold and precious stones of Paradise) once a-year; but in the last year of his life, he had the favour to see it

[a] This is generally believed to be the night of (that is, preceding) the 27th day of the month. (E.W.L.)

twice. They say that few chapters were delivered entire, the most part being revealed piece-meal, and written down from time to time by the prophet's amanuensis, in such or such a part of such or such a chapter, till they were completed, according to the directions of the angel.[a] The first parcel that was revealed, is generally agreed to have been the first five verses of the ninety-sixth chapter.[b] After the new-revealed passages had been from the prophet's mouth taken down in writing by his scribe, they were published to his followers, several of whom took copies for their private use; but the far greater number got them by heart.[c] The originals, when returned, were put promiscuously into a chest, without regard to any order of time, for which reason it is uncertain when many passages were revealed.

¶ 6. When Moḥammad died, he left his revelations in the same disorder which has been mentioned, and not digested into the method, such as it is, in which we now find them. This was the work of his successor Aboo-Bekr, who, considering that a great number of passages were committed to the memory of Moḥammad's followers, many of whom were slain in their wars, ordered the whole to be collected, not only from the palm-leaves and skins on which they had been written, and which were kept between two boards or covers, but also from the mouths of such as had gotten them

[a] Therefore it is a mistake of Dr. Prideaux to say it was brought him chapter by chapter. (Life of Mahomet, p. 6.) The Jews also say that the Law was given to Moses by parcels. (*Vide* Millium de Mohammedisms ante Moham. p. 365.)

[b] Not the whole chapter, as Golius says; Append. ad Gr. Erp. p. 180. — See before, § ii. ¶ 6.

[c] Thus most of the Muslims do in the present day, if they study the Ḳur-án at all. (E.W.L.)

by heart; and this transcript, when completed, he committed to the custody of Ḥafṣah, the daughter of 'Omar, one of the prophet's widows.[a]

From this relation it is generally imagined that Aboo-Bekr was really the compiler of the Ḳur-án; though for aught that appears to the contrary, Moḥammad left the chapters complete as we now have them, excepting such passages as his successor might add or correct from those who had gotten them by heart; what Aboo-Bekr did else being perhaps no more than to range the chapters in their present order, which he seems to have done without any regard to time, having generally placed the longest first.

However, in the thirtieth year of the Flight, 'Othmán being then Khaleefeh, and observing the great disagreement in the copies of the Ḳur-án in the several provinces of the empire (those of El-'Eráḳ, for example, following the reading of Aboo-Moosa El-'Ash'aree, and the Syrians that of Miḳdád Ibn-El-Eswed), he, by advice of the companions, ordered a great number of copies to be transcribed from that of Aboo-Bekr, in Ḥafsah's care, under the inspection of Zeyd Ibn-Thábit, 'Abd-Allah Ibn-Ez-Zubeyr, Sa'eed Ibn-El-'Aṣ, and 'Abd-Er-Rahmán Ibn-El-Ḥárith; whom he directed that, wherever they disagreed about any word, they should write it in the dialect of the tribe of Ḳureysh, in which it was at first delivered.[b] These copies, when made, were dispersed in the several provinces of the empire, and the old ones were burnt and suppressed. Though many things in Ḥafsah's copy were corrected by the above-mentioned supervisors, yet some few various readings still occur.

[a] El-Mekeen, in life of Aboo-Bekr. — Abu-l-Fida.

[b] Abu-l-Fida, in the lives of Aboo-Bekr and 'Othmán.

¶ 7. The want of vowels in the Arabic character used in the time of Moḥammad and his companions made readers, whose peculiar study and profession it was to read the Ḳur-án with its proper vowels, absolutely necessary. But these, differing in their manner of reading, occasioned still further variations in the copies of the Ḳur-án, as they are now written with the vowels; and herein consist much the greater part of the various readings throughout the book. The readers whose authority the commentators chiefly allege, in admitting these various readings, are seven in number.

¶ 8. There being some passages in the Ḳur-án which are contradictory, the Muslim doctors obviate any objection on that account by the doctrine of *abrogation*; for they say that God in the Ḳur-án commanded several things which were for good reasons afterwards revoked and abrogated. Passages abrogated are distinguished into three kinds: the first, where the letter and the sense are both abrogated; the second, where the letter only is abrogated, but the sense remains; and the third, where the sense is abrogated, though the letter remains.

¶ 9. The Ḳur-án being the Muslims' rule of faith and practice, it is no wonder its expositors and commentators are so very numerous; and it may not be amiss to take notice of the rules they observe in expounding it.

One of the most learned commentators[a] distinguishes the contents of the Ḳur-án into allegorical and literal. The former comprehends the more obscure, parabolical, and enigmatical passages, and such as are repealed or abrogated; the latter, those which are plain, perspicuous, liable to no doubt, and in full force.

[a] Ez-Zamakhsherée, on verse 5 of chap. iii. of the Ḳur-án.

To explain these severally in a right manner, it is necessary from tradition and study to know the time when each passage was revealed, its circumstances, state, and history, and the reasons or particular emergencies for the sake of which it was revealed.[a] Or, more explicitly, whether the passage was revealed at Mekḳeh, or at El-Medeeneh; whether it be abrogated, or does itself abrogate any other passage; whether it be anticipated in order of time, or postponed; whether it be distinct from the context, or depend thereon; whether it be particular or general; and lastly, whether it be implicit by intention, or explicit in words.[b]

¶ 10. By what has been said, the reader may easily believe that this book is held by the Muslims in the greatest reverence and esteem. The more strict among them dare not touch it without being first washed or legally purified;[c] which lest they should do by inadvertence, they sometimes write these words, of the book itself, on the cover or label, "None shall touch it but they who are purified."[d] They read it with great care and respect, never holding it below their girdles. They swear by it, consult it in their weighty occasions,[e] carry it with them to war, inscribe sentences from it on their banners, sometimes adorn it with gold and precious stones, and knowingly suffer it not to be in the posses-

[a] Aḥmad Ibn-Moḥammad Eth-Thaalebee, in princip. expos. Alc.

[b] Yaḥya Ibn-Es-Sclám El-Baṣree, in princip. expos. Alc.

[c] The Jews have the same veneration for their law; not daring to touch it with unwashed hands, nor even then without a cover. — *Vide* Millium de Mohammedisms ante Moh. p. 366.

[d] Ḳur-án, ch. lvi. v. 78.

[e] This they do by dipping into it, and taking an omen from the words which they first light on: which practice they also learned of the Jews, who do the same with the Scripture.—*Vide* Millium, *ubi supra*.—[see also my "Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians," vol. i. chap. xi. near the end. —(E.W.L.)]

sion of any person of a different persuasion. [It is the foundation of their education; and the children in the schools are taught to chant it, and commit the whole of it to memory.]

¶ 11. The Muslims, far from thinking the Kur-án to be profaned by a translation, as some authors have written,[a] have taken care to have their scriptures translated not only into the Persian tongue, but into several others, particularly into the Javan and Malayan;[b] though out of respect to the original Arabic, these versions are generally (if not always) interlineary.

[a] Sionita, de urb. orient. p. 41; and Marrace. de Alc. p. 33.
[b] Reland de rel. Moh. p. 265.

SELECTIONS

FROM

THE ḲUR-Á N,

&c.

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§ I. The Initial Prayer.*

Say ye,†

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.‡

Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds (*that is, of all creatures, namely, the jinn,*§ *and mankind, and the angels, and the beasts, and other beings; but especially those endowed with intelligence*), the Compassionate, the Mer-

* This short chapter, which is sometimes placed at the end, but generally at the beginning, of the Ḳur-án, is, with the Muslims, what the Lord's Prayer is with the Christians. It is recited several times in each of the five daily prayers, and on many other occasions, as in concluding a bargain, entering into an engagement, &c.

† To distinguish the words of the Commentary from those of the Ḳur-án, the former are printed in *italics;* and words supplied by the translator (generally on account of the difference of Arabic and English idioms) are enclosed in brackets.

‡ The Muslims, in imitation of the Ḳur-án (every chapter of which, excepting one, is thus headed), and in accordance with a precept of their Prophet, write

§ Some account of the jinn (or genii), and the angels, will be found in a note to § V.

ciful, the King of the day of retribution (*which is the day of resurrection*). Thee do we worship, and of Thee do we beg assistance. Direct us in the right way, the way of those upon whom Thou hast conferred favour, *by directing them aright;* not of those against whom Thou art incensed (*who are the Jews*), nor of the erring (*who are the Christians*).*—(Chap. i.)

this sentence at the commencement of every book, as well as some other writings, and pronounce it on commencing every lawful act of any importance. The words which I render "Compassionate" and "Merciful," are both derived from the same root, and have nearly the same meaning: the former being of a form which is generally used to express an accidental or occasional passion or sensation; and the other to denote a fixed quality. But I have been informed that the most learned of the 'Ulama (or professors of religion and law, &c.) interpret the former as signifying "Merciful in great things;" and the latter, "Merciful in small things."

* "This last sentence contains a petition that God would lead the supplicants into the true religion, by which is meant the Moḥammadan, in the Ḳur-án often called 'the right way;' in this place more particularly defined to be 'the way of those to whom God hath been gracious,' that is, of the prophets and faithful who preceded Mohammad; under which appellations are also comprehended the Jews and Christians, such as they were in the times of their primitive purity, before they had deviated from their respective institutions; *not the way of the modern Jews,* whose signal calamities are marks of the just *anger* of God against them for their obstinacy and disobedience; *nor of the Christians of this age,* who have departed from the true doctrine of Jesus, and are bewildered in a labyrinth of error.[1]—This is the common exposition of the passage; though Ez-Zamakhsher'ee, and some others, by a different application of the negatives, refer the whole to the true believers; and then the sense will run thus: 'The way of those to whom Thou hast been gracious, against whom Thou art not incensed, and who have not erred.' Which translation the original will very well bear."—*Sale.*

[1] Jelál ed-Deen, El-Beyḍáwee, &c.

§ II. Premonition.

Alif Lám Meem.* (*God best knoweth what he meaneth by these [letters].*) Respecting this book there is no doubt *that it is from God; it is* a direction for the pious, who believe in what is unseen (*in the resurrection, and paradise, and hell*), and perform *the duties of* prayer, and of what we have bestowed on them expend *in obedience to God,* and who believe in that which hath been sent down unto thee, [*O Moḥammad,*] *that is, the Ḳur-án,* and what hath been sent down before thee, *namely, the Pentateuch, and the Gospel, and other books,*† and have firm assurance of the life to come.‡

* Many chapters of the Ḳur-án commence with these or other letters of the Arabic alphabet, which are supposed to have mysterious significations. See Intr. § iii. ¶ 2.

† "The Moḥammadans believe that God gave written revelations not only to Moses, Jesus, and Moḥammad, but to several other prophets;[1] though they acknowledge none of those which preceded the Ḳur án to be now extant, except the Pentateuch of Moses, the Psalms of David, and the Gospel of Jesus; which yet they say were even before Moḥammad's time altered and corrupted by the Jews and Christians; and therefore will not allow our present copies to be genuine."—*Sale.*

‡ "The original word, 'el-ákhireh,' properly signifies 'the latter part' of anything; and by way of excellence, 'the next life,' 'the latter' or 'future state' after death; and is opposed to 'ed-dunya,' 'this world; and 'el-oola,' 'the former' or 'present life.' The Hebrew word 'ahharith,' from the same root, is issued by Moses in this sense, and is translated 'latter end.'[2]" (Sale.)

[1] *Vide* Reland, De Relig. Moham. p. 34; and Dissert. de Samaritan. p. 34, &c.

[2] Numb. xxiv. 20. Deut. viii. 16.

These are rightly directed by their Lord, and these are they who shall prosper, *who shall obtain paradise, and be preserved from hell.* As to those who have disbelieved, it will be equal to them whether thou admonish them or do not admonish them; they will not believe. God hath sealed their hearts and their ears, and over their eyes is a covering, and for them is [*ordained*] a great, *violent, lasting* punishment. (Chap. ii. vv. 1—6.)

§ III. Of God and His Works, &c.

¶ 1. *Moḥammad was asked respecting his Lord; wherefore the following was revealed:*—Say, He is God; one [*God*]. God is the Eternal *(or the object of recourse in cases of need continually.)* He begetteth not, nor is he begotten; and there is none equal unto Him.* (Chap. cxii.)

¶ 2. Verily God will not forgive the associating with Him [*any other being as a God*], but will forgive other *sins* than that unto whom He pleaseth, *by admitting him into Paradise without punishment; and whom He willeth, of the believers, He will punish for his sins; then He will admit him into paradise;* and whoso associateth [*another*] with God hath devised a great wickedness. (Chap. iv. v. 51.)

¶ 3. They *(namely the Jews, and the Christians, and those who assert that the angels are the daughters of God)*† say, the Compassionate hath gotten offspring. *God saith unto them,* Ye have done an impious thing.

* "This chapter is held in particular veneration by the Moḥammadans, and declared, by a tradition of their prophet, to be equal in value to a third part of the whole Ḳur-án."—*Sale.*

† Many of the Arabs, in and before the time of Moḥammad, called the angels "the daughters of God." (See Intr. § i. ¶ 25.)

18732

It wanteth little but that the heavens be rent thereat, and that the earth cleave asunder, and that the mountains fall down *upon them,* demolished, *because* that they have attributed offspring unto the Compassionate, when it becometh not the Compassionate to get offspring. There is none of all who are in the heavens and the earth, but he shall come unto the Compassionate as a servant, *on the day of resurrection, and among them Ezra* and Jesus.* He hath known them and numbered them with an *exact* enumeration; and each of them shall come unto Him, on the day of resurrection, alone, *without wealth or helper.* (Chap. xix. vv. 91—95.)

¶ 4. God: there is no deity but He, the *Ever*-Living, the Ever-Subsisting:† neither slumber seizeth Him, nor sleep. To Him belongeth whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth. Who is he who shall intercede with Him, unless by his permission? He knoweth what [*hath been*] before them, and what [*shall be*] after them; and they shall not comprehend aught of His knowledge, save what He willeth. His throne compriseth the heavens and the

* The Jews, it is said, called Ezra "the Son of God."—"This grievous charge against the Jews, the commentators endeavour to support by telling us, that it is meant of some ancient heterodox Jews, or else of some Jews of El-Medeeneh; who said so for no other reason, than for that the law being utterly lost and forgotten during the Babylonish captivity, Ezra, having been raised to life after he had been dead one hundred years,[1] dictated the whole anew to the scribes, out of his own memory; at which they greatly marvelled, and declared that he could not have done it, unless he were the Son of God.[2] El-Beyḍáwee adds, that the imputation must be true, because this verse was read to the Jews, and they did not contradict it; which they were ready enough to do in other instances." (Sale, in one of the notes to chapter ix.)

† "Or," as explained in the Commentary, "the diligent superintendent of the government of his creatures."

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[1] See § xx. [2] El-Beyḍáwee, Ez-Zamakhsher'ee, &c.

earth,* and the preservation of them burdeneth Him not; and He is the High, the Great.† (Chap. ii. v. 256.)

¶ 5. With Him are the keys of the secret things: none knoweth them but He:‡ and he knoweth whatever is on the land, and [*what is*] in the sea:§ and there falleth not a leaf but He knoweth it, nor a grain in the dark parts of the earth, nor a moist thing, nor a dry thing, but [*it is noted*] in a distinct writing (*on the preserved tablet*). And it is He who taketh your souls at night (*when ye sleep,*) and knoweth what ye have gained in the day; then He resuscitateth you therein, (*restoring your souls in the day-time*), that a determined period (*the term of life*) may be fulfilled. Then unto Him shall ye return (*at the resurrection*): then will He declare unto you what ye have done, *and recompense you for it.* And He is the predominant over His servants, and He sendeth watchers over you (*angels who register your deeds*), until, when death cometh unto any one of you, our messengers (*the angels commissioned for*

* According to the Commentary, "it is said [that the meaning is], his knowledge comprehendeth them,—and it is said, his dominion,—and it is said, the throne itself compriseth them, by reason of its vastness, in accordance with a tradition, The seven heavens and earths, in comparison with the throne, are nought but as seven dirkems (silver coins) cast into a shield."

† This verse, which is called the verse of the throne, is one of the most admired passages in the Ḳur-án; but I must say of my translation of it, as Sale has said of his, "it must not be supposed that it comes up to the dignity of the original." It is recited at the close of each of the five daily prayers, though not by all Muslims; and is often engraved on an ornament of gold or silver, or a precious stone, which is worn as an amulet.

‡ According to the Commentary, the things here alluded to are the five things mentioned in the next paragraph, as related by El-Bukháree.

§ Or, as explained in the Commentary, "whatever happeneth in the desert, and in the towns upon the rivers:" but the literal meaning seems more appropriate.

that purpose) take his soul, and they fail not *in that which they are commanded to do.* Then they (*the creatures*) are returned unto God, their Lord, the True, *that He may recompense them:* (doth not judgment belong unto Him ?) and He is the most quick of those who reckon. *He will reckon with all creatures in the space of half a day, of the days of the present world, according to a tradition. Say, O Mohammad to the people of Mekkeh,* Who delivereth you from the darknesses of the land and of the sea, *when* ye supplicate Him humbly and in private, *saying,* If Thou deliver us from these *dangers,* we will assuredly be of [*the number of*] the thankful *and believing?*—Say *unto them,* God delivereth you from them, and from every *other* affliction: then ye attribute partners *to Him.* Say, He is able to send on you a punishment from above you (*as stones, or a vehement sound, from heaven*), or from beneath your feet (*such as a cleaving of the earth*), or to confound you [*by making you*] sects, and to make some of you to taste the violence of others. (Chap. vi. vv. 59—65.)

¶ 6. Verily with God is the knowledge of the hour [*of the resurrection*], *when it will be;* and He causeth the rain to descend *at a time which he knoweth;* and He knoweth what is in the wombs, *whether it be male or female,* (*and none knoweth any one of these three things except God, whose name be exalted!*) and no soul knoweth what it shall gain on the morrow, *of good or evil, but God knoweth it;* and no soul knoweth in what land it shall die, *but God knoweth it.** Verily God is

* The five things here mentioned are alluded to in the extract immediately preceding.—"As to the last particular, El-Beyḍáwee relates the following story. The angel of death passing once by Solomon in a visible shape, and looking at

knowing *with respect to every thing*, acquainted *with what is hidden of it, as with what is apparent.* (Chap. xxxi. last verse.)

¶ 7. [*It is*] God who hath created seven heavens; and of the earth, the like of them; *namely, seven earths.** The *revealed* ordinance is sent down between them, (*that is, between the heavens and the earth; Gabriel descending therewith from the seventh heaven to the seventh earth.*) *This is related* that ye may know that God is able to do every thing, and that God hath comprehended all things by [*His*] knowledge. (Chap. lxv. last verse.)

¶ 8. Verily your Lord is God, who created the heavens and the earth in six days, *of the days of this world; that is, in the space of such days; for there was not then a sun: and had He pleased, He had created them in the twinkling of an eye; but He declined to do so, in order to teach His creatures perseverance:* then He ascended the throne.[1] He causeth the night to cover

one who was sitting with him, the man asked who he was, and upon Solomon's acquainting him that it was the angel of death, said, 'He seems to want me; wherefore order the wind to carry me from hence into India:'—which being accordingly done, the angel said to Solomon, 'I looked so earnestly at the man out of wonder; because I was commanded to take his soul in India, and found him with thee in Palestine.'"—*Sale.*

* According to the Kur-án, and the traditions of Mohammad, "there are seven heavens, one above another,[2] and seven earths, one beneath another; the earth which we inhabit being the highest of the latter, and next below the lowest heaven. The upper surface of each heaven, and that of each earth, are believed to be nearly plane, and are generally supposed to be circular; and are said to be five hundred years' journey in width. This is also said to be the measure of the depth or thickness of each heaven and each earth, and of the distance between each heaven or earth and that next above or below it." (From Note 2 to the Introduction of my Translation of the 1001 Nights.) There are, however, many Muslims who believe that the earth which we inhabit is a globe.

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[1] Solomon's power over the wind is explained in § xvii.

[2] See a note to ¶ 7 of § i. of the Introduction.

the day; it followeth it swiftly: and *He created* the sun, and the moon, and the stars, absolutely subjected by His command. Do not the *whole* creation and command belong to Him? Blessed be God, the Lord of the worlds! (Chap. vii. v. 52.)

¶ 9. Say, Do ye indeed disbelieve in Him who created the earth in two days (*the first and second days of the week*), and do ye set up equals unto Him? He is the Lord of the worlds. And He placed in it [*namely, the earth*] *mountains* firmly fixed, [*rising*] above it, and blessed it *with abundance of waters, and plants, and cattle,* and distributed in it its victuals *for men and beasts,* in four days complete, (*that is, He did these works on the third and fourth days*). [*Say thus*] to the inquirers *respecting the creation of the earth, and those who are in it.* Then He betook Himself to [*the creation of*] the heaven; and it was smoke,* *or an elevated vapour;* and He said unto it, and unto the earth, Come ye [*to submit yourselves*] *unto that which I desire of you,* obediently or reluctantly? They replied, We come, obedient. And He made them (*namely, the heavens*) seven heavens, in two days (*the fifth and sixth days*): *He finished them in the last hour of the sixth day; and in that hour He created Adam; wherefore it is not here said "*[*in two days*] *complete:" and what is here* [*related*] *agrees with* [*what is said in*] *the verses, He created the heavens and the earth in six days:*† and He revealed *unto the inhabitants* in each heaven the office

* "Ez-Zamakhsher'ee says, this smoke proceeded from the waters under the throne of God (which throne was one of the things created before the heavens and the earth,) and rose above the water; that the water being dried up, the earth was formed out of it, and the heavens out of the smoke which had mounted aloft." —*Sale.*

† Chap. vii. v. 52; and chap. x. v. 3; &c.

thereof, *as to obedience and worship.* And we adorned the lowest heaven with lights (*namely, the stars*), and guarded *them by means of shooting stars, from the listening of the devils by stealth.** This is the disposition of the Mighty, the Wise. (Chap. xli. vv. 8—11.)

¶ 10. Blessed be He in whose hand (*or at whose disposal*) is the dominion, and who is able to do every thing; who hath created death *in the present world,* and life *in the world to come* (*or hath decreed both in the present world*), that He may prove you *in life,* which of you [*will be*] best in actions, *or most obedient to God:* and He is the Mighty *in His vengeance against him who disobeyeth Him;* the Very Forgiving *unto him who turneth to Him with repentance;* who hath created seven heavens, one above another. Thou seest not in the Compassionate's creation *of them and other things* any incongruity. But lift up the eyes again *to heaven.* Dost thou see *in it* any fissures? Then lift up the eyes again, twice; the sight shall return unto thee dull and dim. And we have adorned the lowest heaven (*that nearest the earth*) with lamps, (*namely, the stars*), and have appointed them to be cast at the devils, *when they listen by stealth,*† (*the meaning is, that a flaming fire is separated from a star, as a fire-brand is taken from a fire,*

* The devils, or evil jinn, it is said, had liberty to enter any of the seven heavens till the birth of Jesus, when they were excluded from three of them; on the birth of Mohammad, they were forbidden the other four.[1] They continue, however, to ascend to the confines of the lowest heaven, and there listening to the conversation of the angels respecting things decreed by God, obtain knowledge of futurity, which they sometimes impart to men, who, by means of talismans, or certain invocations, make them to serve the purposes of magical performances. Shooting stars are often hurled at the devils when they thus listen, as explained in the next extract.

† See the note immediately preceding.

[1] Sale in a note on ch. xv.

and it killeth the jinnee, or mutilateth him: not that the star is removed from its place); and we have prepared for them the punishment of flaming fire. (Chap. lxvii. vv. 1—5.

¶ 11. We have placed in heaven *the twelve* signs *of the Zodiac,* and adorned them for the beholders, *with the constellations*; and we have guarded them, *by means of shooting stars,* from every devil driven away with stones,* [*or accursed,*] excepting him who listeneth by stealth, whom a manifest shooting star pursueth *and turneth, or pierceth, or mutilateth.* We have also spread forth the earth, and thrown thereon firm *mountains, that it may not move with its inhabitants*; and we have caused to spring forth in it every kind [*of vegetable*], weighed, *or determined*; and we have provided for you therein necessaries of life, *consisting of fruits and grains,* and *for* him whom ye do not sustain (*namely, slaves, and beasts, and cattle; for it is only God who sustaineth them*); and there is not a thing but the storehouses thereof are with us, and we send it not down save in determined quantities. We also send the fertilizing winds, *which cause the clouds to fill with water*; and we send down water from heaven, and give you to drink thereof, and ye are not the storers of it: *the reservoirs of it are not in your possession.* And verily we give life, and cause death, and we are the heirs *of all the creation.* We also know your predecessors *from the time of Adam,* and we know your successors *unto the day of*

* This expression alludes to a tradition, that Abraham, when the devil tempted him to disobey God in not sacrificing his son, drove the fiend away by throwing stones at him; in memory of which, the Mohammadans, at the pilgrimage of Mekkeh, throw a certain number of stones at the devil, with certain ceremonies, in the valley of Mina." (Sale, in one of his notes to chap. iii.

resurrection; and verily thy Lord will assemble them together; for He is wise [*and*] knowing. (Chap. xv. vv. 16—25.)

¶ 12. *When they said, describe to us thy Lord,—*[*the following*] *was revealed:*—And your God *(that is, He who is deserving of your worship)* is one God: *there is none like unto Him in His essence, nor in His attributes:* there is no deity but He, the Merciful, the Compassionate.—*And they demanded a sign in proof thereof: wherefore* [*what follows*] *was revealed:* Verily in the creation of the heavens and the earth, *and the wonders that they contain,* and the varying of night and day, *by going and coming, and increasing and decreasing,* and the ships that course upon the sea *without sinking, laden* with what is profitable to mankind, and the *rain*-water that God hath sent down from heaven, quickening thereby the earth *with plants,* after its death, and scattering about it all kinds of beasts *(for they increase by means of its fruitfulness,)* and in the changing of the winds *(their becoming south and north, hot and cold),* and the clouds that are compelled to do service, *subjected by the command of God to go whithersoever He willeth,* between heaven and earth, *without impediment,* are signs *of His unity* unto a people who understand, *or meditate.* Yet among men are those who take to themselves, beside God, idols, which they love as *with* the love *they have* for God: but those who have believed are more loving towards God *than these are towards their idols; for they turn not away from Him in any case whatever; whereas the unbelievers turn away, in adversity, to God.* (Chap. ii. vv. 158—160.)

¶ 13. Verily God causeth the grain to come forth *from the plant,* and the date-stone *from the palm-tree.*

He bringeth forth the living from the dead (*as the bird from the egg*), and He bringeth forth the dead from the living (*as the egg from the bird*). This is God: then wherefore are ye turned away *from belief, when the proof is established?* He causeth the dawn to appear, and hath ordained the night for rest, and the sun and the moon for computing *time*. This is the appointment of the Mighty, the Wise. And it is He who hath ordained for you the stars, that ye may be directed by them in the darknesses of the land and the sea. We have clearly shown the signs *of our power* unto people who know, *or consider*. And it is He who hath produced you from one soul; and *there is* a place of rest and a repository *for you previously to birth*. We have clearly shown the signs to people who understand *what is said unto them*. And it is He who hath sent down water from heaven, and we have produced thereby the germs of everything, and we have produced therefrom the green thing, from which we produce grains compacted (*as in the ears of wheat and the like*); and from the palm-tree [*come forth*], from its fruit-branch, clusters of dates near together. And *we have produced, by the rain,* gardens of grapes, and the olive and the pomegranate, resembling one another *in leaf*, and not resembling *in fruit*. Look ye at their fruits, when they bear fruit, and *at* their coming to maturity. Verily therein are signs unto people who believe. Yet they have set up the jinn as partners of God, *since they have obeyed them in worshipping idols*, though He hath created them; and they have falsely attributed to Him sons and daughters, without knowledge, *saying that Ezra is the son of God, and that the angels are the daughters of God.** Extolled

* See two notes to paragraph iii. of this section.

be his purity, and highly be He exalted above *the imputation of* that which they attribute [*to Him*]! *He is* the originator of the heavens and the earth. How should He have offspring, when He hath no consort, and hath created everything, and knoweth everything? This is God, your Lord. There is no deity but He, the Creator of everything; therefore worship ye Him *alone;* and He is guardian over everything. The eyes see him not (*though the believers will see him in the world to come*); but He seeth the eyes; and He is the Gracious, the Knowing. (Chap. vi. vv. 95—103.)

¶ 14. It is He who causeth the lightning to appear unto you, [*exciting*] fear *in the traveller,* and [*giving*] hope *of rain to the resident,* and formeth the pregnant clouds. The thunder (*or the angel charged with the office of driving the clouds*) proclaimeth *His* perfection, *and is occupied* with his praise; and the angels *do the same,* in fear of Him; and He sendeth the thunderbolts, and striketh with them whom he pleaseth, while they dispute concerning God; for He is mighty in power.—*This was revealed with reference to a man unto whom the prophet sent one to invite him* [*to the faith*], *but he said, Who is the apostle of God, and what is God? Is he of gold, or silver, or brass? Whereupon a thunderbolt fell upon him, and struck off his skull.* (Chap. xiii. v. 13 & 14.)

¶ 15. O men *of Mekkeh,* a parable is propounded; wherefore hearken unto it. Verily those *idols* which ye invoke besides God can never create a fly, although they assembled for *the purpose of creating* it: and if the fly carry off from them aught *of the perfume and saffron with which they are dawbed over,* they cannot recover the

same from it. Weak are the petitioner and the petitioned! (Chap. xxii. v. 72.)

¶ 16. The similitude of those who take to themselves patrons instead of God, *namely, idols,* is as the similitude of the spider, which maketh for herself a dwelling; and the frailest of dwellings surely is the dwelling of the spider: *it keepeth not from her the heat, nor the cold. In like manner, the idols profit not their worshippers.* If they knew *this, they would not worship them.* Verily God knoweth whatever thing they invoke in his stead; and He is the Mighty, the Wise. And these similitudes *in the Kur-án* we propound unto men; but none understand them except the wise. God hath created the heavens and the earth in truth. Verily therein is a sign, *indicative of His power,* unto the believers. (Chap. xxix. vv. 40—43.)

¶ 17. *This following passage was revealed in reply to the saying of the Jews, when God propounded the parable of the fly, in his saying, And if the fly carry off from them:* [*see above,* ¶ 15:]—*and that of the spider, in his saying, As the similitude of the spider:* [*see again above,* ¶ 16:]—*What meaneth God by the mention of these paltry things?*—God is not ashamed to propound as a parable anything whatever, *even* a gnat, and what surpasseth it: for as to those who have believed, they know that it *(namely the parable)* is the truth from their Lord; but as to those who have disbelieved, they say, What meaneth God by this as a parable? *God replieth,* He will thereby cause many to err *from the truth, on account of the disbelief of it,* and He will rightly direct thereby many *of the believers;* but He will not thereby cause to err any except the un-

righteous, who violate the injunction of God, *which he hath prescribed to them in the Scriptures, concerning faith in Mohammad,* after the establishment thereof, and cut asunder what God hath commanded to be joined *(as belief in the prophet, and the ties of relationship, &c.)* and act corruptly in the earth, *by disobediences, and hindering others from embracing the faith.* These are they who shall suffer loss; *for their transit is to the eternal fire.* (Chap. ii. v. 24 and 25.)

§ IV. Of Predestination.

¶ 1. A soul cannot die unless by permission of God (*by His decree*), according to a writing *of God*, [*which is*] definite *as to time.* (Chap. iii. v. 139.)

¶ 2. They [*whose companions were slain at the battle of Oḥod*]* say, If aught of the affair had been *submitted* to us, we had not been slain here: *if the choice had been given us, we had not gone forth, and had not been slain; but we were led forth against our will.* Reply, Had ye been in your houses, *with those whom God decreed to be slain among you,* they who were decreed to be slain, *of you,* had gone forth to the places where they lie. (Chap. iii. v. 148.)

* Oḥod is "a mountain about four miles to the north of El-Medeeneh. The tribe of Ḳureysh, to revenge their loss at Bedr,[1] the next year, being the third of the Flight, got together an army of 3,000 men, among whom there were 200 horse, and 700 armed with coats of mail. These forces marched under the conduct of Aboo-Sufyán, and sat down at Dhu-l-Ḥuleyfeh, a village about six miles from El-Medeeneh. Moḥammad, being much inferior to his enemies in numbers, at first determined to keep himself within the town, and receive them there; but afterwards, the advice of some of his companions prevailing, he marched out against them at the head of 1,000 men (some say he had 1,050 men, and others but 900), of whom 100 were armed with coats of mail; but he had no more than one horse, besides his own, in his whole army. With these forces he formed a camp in a village near Oḥod, which mountain he contrived to have at his back;

[1] See Intr. § ii. ¶ 26.

¶ 3. Wheresoever ye be, death will overtake you, although ye be in lofty towers. If good fortune betide them (*namely, the Jews*), they say, This is from God. But if evil betide them (*as sterility and misfortune, which happened to them when the prophet arrived at El-Medeeneh*), they say, This is from thee, *O Mohammad; that is, through thy ill luck.*—Say *unto them,* All is from God; and what aileth these people, that they are not near to understanding what is said *unto them?* Whatever good betideth thee, *O man, it is* from God (*from his bounty*); and whatever evil betideth thee, *it is* from thyself, *because thou hast committed sins that require it.* (Chap. iv. vv. 80 and 81.)

and the better to secure his men from being surrounded, he placed fifty archers in the rear, with strict orders not to quit their post. When they came to engage, Mohammad had the better at first; but afterwards by the fault of his archers, who left their ranks for the sake of the plunder, and suffered the enemies' horse to encompass the Mohammadans and attack them in the rear, he lost the day, and was very near losing his life; being struck down by a shower of stones, and wounded in the face with two arrows, on pulling out of which his two foreteeth dropped out. Of the Muslims, 70 men were slain, and among them Hamzeh, the uncle of Mohammad; and of the infidels, 22.[2]" (Sale, in one of the notes on ch. iii.)

[2] Abulfedæ Vita Moham. p. 64, &c.

§ V. Of the Angels and the Jinn.*

¶ 1. They say, The Compassionate hath gotten issue, *consisting of the angels.*† Extolled be His purity! Nay, *they are* honoured servants *unto Him.* They prevent Him not in speech: *they speak not until after He hath spoken;* and according to His command they act. He knoweth what is before them, and what is behind them; *what they have done, and what they shall do;* and they shall not intercede save for whom He shall please; and they fear, in dread of Him. And him

* The Muslims believe in three different species of created intelligent beings; namely, angels, who are created of light; jinn (or genii, in the singular, jinnee,) who are created of fire; and men, created of earth. Some hold that the devils are of a species distinct from angels and jinn; but the more prevailing opinion, and that which rests on the highest authority, is, that they are rebellious jinn. The angelic nature is held to be inferior to the human nature, because all the angels were commanded to prostrate themselves before Adam; and the jinn are inferior to the angels. The angels, however, are sinless, and do not propagate their species; not being males or females. The jinn, on the contrary, are peccable, consist of males and females, and propagate their species, like, or in conjunction with, human beings. The species of jinn is said to have been created some thousands of years before Adam, and consists of believers and unbelievers; the latter being called sheytáns, or devils. Their father was Iblees, or *the* Devil. An 'ifreet is a powerful evil jinnee: a márid, an evil jinnee of the most powerful class. The jinn are ærial creatures, which can assume various forms; and are generally invisible to men; but they often appear in the shapes of serpents, dogs, cats, and human beings, as well as in many monstrous forms, and of various sizes.

† See a note to ¶ 3 of § iii.

[If

among them who saith, I am a deity beside Him, (*that is, beside God; and he who so saith is Iblees,*) that [*angel*] we will recompense with hell. In like manner we will recompense the offenders *who attribute partners to God.* Chap. xxi. vv. 26—30.)

¶ 2. A part of those who have received the Book have cast the Book of God (*that is, the Pentateuch*) behind their backs, *not doing according to its precepts by believing in the apostle, and other things,* as though they knew not *what it containeth* (*namely, that He is a true prophet, or that it is the book of God*); and they have followed that *magic* which the devils recited in *the time of the reign of* Solomon. *The devils had buried it* [*that is, the writings containing*] *it beneath his throne, when his dominion was taken away.** *Or they used to hear words by stealth, and add thereto lies, and communicate them to the sorcerers, who collected them into books; and this became publicly known, and it was spread abroad that the jinn knew things unseen. Therefore Solomon collected the books and buried them; but when he died, the devils directed the people to them, and they took them forth, and found in them magic; whereupon they said, He only held authority over you by means of this. So they learned the magic, and abandoned the books of their prophets. God therefore saith, in acquitment of Solomon, and in reply to the Jews with regard to their saying, Observe Mohammad: he mentioneth Solomon among the prophets when he was nought but a magician,*—and Solomon was not impious;

If good, they are generally resplendently handsome: if evil, horribly hideous. They become invisible at pleasure (by a rapid extension or rarefaction of the particles which compose them), or suddenly disappear in the earth or air, or through a solid wall. (For a more full account of the angels and jinn, see Note 21 to the Introduction of my Translation of the 1001 Nights; from which the above is taken.)

* See § xvii. ¶ 5. † See a note to ¶ 10 of § iii.

that is, he did not practice magic; for it is impiety; but the devils were impious, teaching men magic, and *teaching them* that which was sent down to the two angels (*that is, the magic that they received by revelation—and some read,* [*instead of the two angels,*] *the two kings*), at Bábil, [*namely*] Hároot and Mároot. *Ibn-'Abbás saith, They were two magicians, who taught magic. And it is said that they were two angels, who were sent down to teach it by God, in order to try men.** Yet they two taught not any one until they had said *unto him, by way of admonishment,* We are only a temptation *from God unto men, to try them by teaching it; and he who learneth it is impious; but he who rejecteth it is a believer;* therefore be not impious *by learning it:—and if he would nought but to be taught, they taught him it.* So they learned, from those two, that by which they might cause separation between man and wife; *each being rendered odious to the other;* but they (*the magicians*) hurt not thereby any one, except by permission of God. (Chap. ii. vv. 95 and 96.)

* Bábil, or Babel, is regarded by the Muslims as the fountain-head of the science of magic, which was, and, as most think, still is, taught there to mankind by Hároot and Mároot, who are there suspended by the feet in a great pit closed by a mass of rock. According to the account of them generally received as correct, Hároot and Mároot are two angels, who, in consequence of their want of compassion for the frailties of mankind, were rendered, by God, susceptible of human passions, and sent down upon the earth to be tempted. They both sinned; and, being permitted to choose whether they would be punished in this life or in the other, chose the former. But they were sent down not merely to *experience* temptation; being also appointed to tempt others by means of their knowledge of magic. (From Note 14 to Chapter iii. of my Translation of the 1001 Nights.)

§ VI. Of Prophets, Apostles, and Divine Books.*

¶ 1. Say ye, *O believers*, We believe in God, and in that which hath been sent down unto us (*namely, the Ḳur-án*), and what hath been sent down unto Abraham (*the ten books*) and Ishmael, and Isáac, and Jacob, and the tribes, *his children*, and what Moses received (*namely, the Pentateuch*), and Jesus (*namely, the Gospel*),

* The number of the prophets which have been from time to time sent by God into the world, amounts to no less than 224,000, according to one Moḥammadan tradition, or to 124,000, according to another; among whom 313 were apostles, sent with special commissions to reclaim mankind from infidelity and superstition; and six of them brought new laws or dispensations, which successively abrogated the preceding: these were Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Moḥammad. All the prophets (in general) the Moḥammadans believe to have been free from great sins, and errors of consequence, and professors of one and the same religion, that is, El-Islám, notwithstanding the different laws and institutions which they observed. In this great number of prophets, they not only reckon divers patriarchs and persons named in Scripture, but not recorded to have been prophets, (wherein the Jewish and Christian writers have sometimes led the way,[1]) as Adam, Seth, Lot, Ishmael, Nun, Joshua, &c. and introduce some of them under different names, as Enoch, Heber, and Jethro, who are called in the Ḳur-án, Idrees, Hood, and Sho'eyb; but several others whose very names do not appear in Scripture, (though they endeavour to find some persons there to fix them on), as Ṣáleh, El-Khiḍr, Dhu-l-Kifl," &c. (Sale's Prelim. Disc. sect. iv.)

" As to the Scriptures, the Moḥammadans are taught by the Ḳur-án, that God,

[1] Thus Heber is said to have been a prophet by the Jews (Seder Olam. p. 2); and Adam by Epiphanius (Adv. Hæres. p. 6). See also Joseph. Ant. lib. i. c. 2."

and what the prophets received from their Lord *(namely books and signs:)* we make no separation of any of them, *believing in some, and disbelieving in some, like the Jews and the Christians;* and we resign ourselves unto Him. (Chap. ii. v. 130.)

¶ 2. We gave unto Moses the Book *(that is, the Pentateuch),* and caused apostles to follow after him, and gave Jesus the son of Mary evident proofs *(miracles, such as those of raising to life the dead, and curing him who was blind from his birth, and the leper;)* and we strengthened him with the Holy Spirit, *Gabriel,* [*so called*] *on account of his purity, that he might go with him wherever he went.* (Chap. ii. v. 81.)

in divers ages of the world, gave revelations of His will in writing to several prophets, the whole and every word of which it is absolutely necessary for a good Muslim to believe. The number of these sacred books was, according to them, 104; of which ten were given to Adam, fifty to Seth, thirty to Idrees or Enoch, ten to Abraham; and the other four, being the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospel, and the Ḳur-án, were successively delivered to Moses, David, Jesus, and Mohammad; which last being the *seal* of the prophets, those revelations are now closed, and no more are to be expected. All these divine books, except the four last, they agree to be now entirely lost, and their contents unknown; though the Sabians have several books which they attribute to some of the antediluvian prophets. And of those four, the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gospel, they say, have undergone so many alterations and corruptions, that though there may possibly be some part of the true word of God therein, yet no credit is to be given to the present copies in the hands of the Jews and Christians." *(Ibid.)*

§ VII. Of Adam and Eve.

¶ 1. *Remember, O Mohammad,* when thy Lord said unto the angels, I am about to place in the earth a vicegerent *to act for me in the execution of my ordinances therein, namely, Adam,*—they said, Wilt Thou place in it one who will corrupt in it *by disobediences,* and will shed blood (*as did the sons of El-Jann,* who were in it; wherefore, when they acted corruptly, God sent to them the angels, who drove them away to the islands and the mountains*), when we [*on the contrary*] celebrate the divine perfection, *occupying ourselves* with Thy praise, and extol Thy holiness? *Therefore we are more worthy of the vicegerency. God* replied, Verily I know that which ye know not, *as to the affair of appointing Adam vicegerent, and that among his posterity will be the obedient and the rebellious, and the just will be manifest among them. And He created Adam from the surface of the earth, taking a handful of every colour that it comprised, which was kneaded with various waters; and He completely formed it, and breathed into it the soul: so it became an animated, sentient being.*† And He taught Adam the names of all things, *infusing the knowledge of*

* "El-Jánn" is here used as a name of Iblees, the father of the jinn. It also signifies the jinn themselves.

† According to a tradition of the prophet, the height of Adam was equal to that of a tall palm-tree.

them into his heart. Then He showed them (*namely, the things*) to the angels, and said, Declare unto me the names of these *things,* if ye say truth *in your assertion that I will not create any more knowing than ye, and that ye are more worthy of the vicegerency.* They replied, [*We extol*] Thy perfection! We have no knowledge excepting what Thou hast taught us; for Thou art the Knowing, the Wise.—*God* said, O Adam, tell them their names. And when he had told them their names, *God* said, Did I not say unto you that I know the secrets of the heavens and the earth, and know what ye reveal *of your words, saying, Wilt Thou place in it, &c.* and what ye did conceal *of your words, saying, He will not create any more generous towards Him than we, nor any more knowing?** And when we said unto the angels, Prostrate yourselves to Adam, *by way of salutation,* they prostrated themselves, except Iblees, *who is the father of the jinn, and who was among the angels:* he refused, and was proud, *saying, I am better than He:*— and he was *known to God as one* of the unbelievers. (Chap. ii. vv. 28—32.)

¶ 2. We created you; *that is, your father Adam:* then we formed you; *we formed him, and you in him:* then we said unto the angels, Prostrate yourselves unto Adam, *by way of salutation*; whereupon they prostrated themselves, except Iblees, *the father of the jinn, who was amid the angels:* he was not of those who prostrated themselves. *God* said, What hath hindered thee from prostrating thyself, when I commanded thee? He answered, I am better than he: Thou hast created me of fire, and Thou hast created him of earth. [*God*]

* Sale mentions a Jewish tradition similar to the above, and adds that "the angels adoring of Adam is also mentioned in the Talmud."

said, Then descend thou from it; *that is, from paradise; or, as some say, from the heavens;* for it is not fit for thee that thou behave thyself proudly therein: so go thou forth: verily thou [*shalt be one*] of the contemptible. He replied, Grant me respite until the day when they (*that is, mankind*) shall be raised from the dead. He said, Thou shalt be of those [*who are*] respited: *and, in another verse* [*it is said*], *until the day of the known period;* that is, until the period of the first blast* [*of the trumpet*]. [*And the devil*] said, Now, as Thou hast led me into error, I will surely lay wait for them (*that is, for the sons of Adam*) in Thy right way, *the way that conducteth to Thee:* then I will surely come upon them, from before them, and from behind them, and from their right hands, and from their left, *and hinder them from pursuing the way* (*but, saith Ibn-'Abbas, he cannot come upon them from above, lest he should intervene between the servant and God's mercy*), and Thou shalt not find the greater number of them grateful, *or believing.* [*God*] said, Go forth from it, despised, and driven away *from mercy.* Whosoever of them (*that is, of mankind*) shall follow thee, I will surely fill hell with you all; *with thee, and thy offspring, and with men.* (Chap. vii. vv. 10—17.)

¶ 3. And we said, O Adam, dwell thou and thy wife (*Howwa* [*or Eve*], *whom God created from a rib of his left side*) in the garden, and eat ye therefrom plentifully, wherever ye will; but approach ye not this tree, *to eat thereof;* (*and it was wheat, or the grape-vine, or some other tree;*) for *if ye do so,* ye will be of *the number of* the offenders. But the devil, *Iblees,* caused them to slip from it; *that is, from the garden, by his saying*

* Chap. xv. v. 38.

unto them, Shall I show you the way to the tree of eternity? And he swore to them by God that he was one of the faithful advisers to them: so they ate of it, and He ejected them from that *state of delight* in which they were. And we said, Descend ye* *to the earth, ye two with the offspring that ye comprise* [*yet unborn*], one of you (*that is, of your offspring*) an enemy to another; and there shall be for you, in the earth, a place of abode, and a provision, *of its vegetable produce,* for a time, *until the period of the expiration of your terms of life.* And Adam learned, from his Lord, words, *which were these:—O Lord, we have acted unjustly to our own souls, and if Thou do not forgive us, and be merciful unto us, we shall surely be of those who suffer loss.*†—*And he prayed in these words;* and He became propitious towards him, *accepting his repentance;* for He is the Very Propitious, the Merciful. We said, Descend ye from it (*from the garden*) altogether; and if there come unto you, from me, a direction (*a book and an apostle*), those who follow my direction, *there shall come* no fear on them, nor shall they grieve *in the world to come; for they shall enter paradise:* but they who disbelieve, and accuse our signs ‡ of falsehood, these shall be the companions of the fire: they shall remain therein for ever. (Chap. ii. vv. 33—37.)

* "The Mohammadans say, that when they were cast down from Paradise, [which is in the seventh heaven,] Adam fell on the isle of Ceylon, or Sarandeeb, and Eve near Juddah (the port of Mekkeh) in Arabia; and that after a separation of two hundred years, Adam was, on his repentance, conducted by the angel Gabriel to a mountain near Mekkeh, where he found and knew his wife, the mountain being thence named 'Arafát; and that he afterwards retired with her to Ceylon." (Sale, from D'Herbelot.)

† Chap. vii. v. 22.

‡ "This word has various significations in the Kur-án; sometimes, as in this passage, it signifies *divine revelation,* or *scripture* in general; sometimes the *verses* of the *Kur-án* in particular; and at other times, *visible miracles.* But the sense is easily distinguished by the context." (Sale.)

§ VIII. Of Abel and Cain.

Recite, *O Moḥammad,* unto them (*that is, to thy people*) the history of the two sons of Adam, *namely, Abel and Cain,** with truth. When they offered [*their*] offering *to God*† (*Abel's being a ram, and Cain's being produce of the earth*), and it was accepted from one of them (*that is, from Abel; for fire descended from heaven, and devoured his offering*), and it was not accepted from the other, *Cain was enraged; but he concealed his envy until Adam performed a pilgrimage, when* he said *unto his brother,* I will assuredly slay thee. *Abel said, Wherefore! Cain answered, Because of the acceptance of thine offering to the exclusion of mine. Abel* replied, God only accepteth from the pious. If thou stretch forth to

* Called, in Arabia, Hábeel and Ḳábeel.

† "The occasion of their making this offering is thus related, according to the common tradition in the east.[1] Each of them being born with a twin-sister, when they were grown up, Adam, by God's direction, ordered Cain to marry Abel's twin-sister, and that Abel should marry Cain's; for it being the common opinion that marriages ought not to be had in the nearest degrees of consanguinity, since they must necessarily marry their sisters, it seemed reasonable to suppose they ought to take those of the remoter degree; but this Cain refusing to agree to, because his own sister was the handsomest, Adam ordered them to make their offerings to God, thereby referring the dispute to His determination.[2] The commentators say Cain's offering was a sheaf of the very worst of his corn, but Abel's, a fat lamb, of the best of his flock." (Sale.)

[1] *Vide* Abu-l-Faraj, p. 6, 7; Eutychii Annal. p. 15, 16; and D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient art. Cabil.

[2] El-Beyḍáwee.

me thy hand to slay me, I will not stretch forth to thee my hand to slay thee; for I fear God, the Lord of the worlds. I desire that thou shouldst bear the sin [*which thou intendest to commit*] against me, *by slaying me,* and thy sin *which thou hast committed before,* and thou wilt be of the companions of the fire.*—And that is the recompense of the offenders.—But his soul suffered him to slay his brother: so he slew him; and he became of [*the number of*] those who suffer loss. *And he knew not what to do with him; for he was the first dead person upon the face of the earth, of the sons of Adam. So he carried him upon his back.* And God sent a raven, which scratched up the earth *with its bill and its talons, and raised it over a dead raven that was with it, until it hid it,* to show him how he should hide the corpse of his brother.† He said, Oh! my disgrace! Am I unable to be like this raven, and to hide the corpse of my brother?—And he became of [*the number of*] the repentant. *And he dug* [*a grave*] *for him, and hid him.*—On account of this, *which Cain did,* we commanded the children of Israel that he who should slay a soul, not for *the latter's having slain* a soul or *committed* wickedness in the earth, *such as infidelity, or adultery, or intercepting the way, and the like,* [*should be regarded*] as though he had slain all mankind; and he who saveth it alive, *by abstaining from slaying it,* [*should be regarded*] as though he had saved alive all mankind. (Chap. v. vv. 30—35.)

* "The conversation between the two brothers is related somewhat to the same purpose in the Jerusalem Targum and that of Jonathan ben Uzziel." (*Idem.*)

† "For this circumstance of the raven Mohammad was beholden to the Jews, who tell the same story, except only that they make the raven to appear to Adam, and that he thereupon buried his son."[1] (Sale.)

[1] *Vide* R. Eliezer, Pirke, c. 20.

§ IX. Of Noah and the Flood.

¶ 1. We formerly sent Noah* unto his people, *saying*, Verily I am unto you a plain admonisher that ye worship not [*any*] but God. Verily I fear for you, *if ye worship any other*, the punishment of an afflictive day *in this world and in the world to come*.—But the chiefs who disbelieved among his people replied, We see thee not to be other than a man, like unto us; and we see not any to have followed thee except the most mean of us, *as the weavers and the coblers*, at first thought (*or rashly*), nor do we see you to have any excellence above us: nay, we imagine you to be liars *in your claim to the apostolic commission*. He said, O my people, tell me, if I have an evident proof from my Lord, and He hath bestowed on me mercy (*the gift of prophecy*) from Himself, which is hidden from you, shall we compel you to *receive* it, when ye are averse thereto? *We cannot do so.* And, O my people, I ask not of you any riches for it; *namely for delivering my message*. My reward is not due from any but God; and I will not drive away those who have believed *as ye have commanded me* [*because they are poor people*]. Verily they shall meet their Lord *at*

* Called, in Arabic, Nooh.

the resurrection, and He will recompense them, and will exact for them [reparation] from those who have treated them with injustice, and driven them away. But I see you [*to be*] a people who are ignorant *of the end of your case.* And, O my people, who will defend me against God if I drive them away? Will ye not then consider? And I do not say unto you, I have the treasures of God;—nor [*do I say*], I know the things unseen; nor do I say, Verily I am an angel; nor do I say, of those whom your eyes contemn, God will by no means bestow on them good: (God best knoweth what is in their minds:) verily I should, in that case, be [*one*] of the offenders.—They replied, O Noah, thou hast disputed with us, and multiplied disputes with us: now bring upon us that *punishment* wherewith thou threatenest us, if thou be [*one*] of those who speak truth. He said, only God will bring it upon you, if He please *to hasten it unto you; for it is His affair; not mine;* and ye shall not escape *God:* nor will my counsel profit you if I desire to counsel you, if God desire to lead you into error. He is your Lord; and unto Him shall ye be brought back.—Do they (*the unbelievers of Mekkeh*) say, He (*Mohammad*) hath forged it (*namely, the Ḳur-án*)? Reply, If I have forged it, on me [*be*] my guilt; but I am clear of that whereof ye are guilty *in attributing the forgery of it to me.* (Chap. xi. vv. 27—37.)

¶ 2. And it was said by revelation unto Noah, Verily there shalt not believe, of thy people, [*any*] but they who have already believed; therefore be not grieved for that which they have done. *And he uttered an imprecation upon them, saying, O my Lord, leave not upon the earth, any one of the unbelievers; for if Thou*

leave them, they will lead Thy servants into error, and will not beget [*any*] *but a wicked, ungrateful* [*offspring*]. *O my Lord, forgive me and my parents* (*for they were believers*), *and whomsoever entereth my house* (*my abode, or my place of worship*), *being a believer, and the believing men, and the believing women* (*to the day of resurrection*), *and add not to the offenders* [*aught*] *save destruction.**— *And God answered his prayer,* and *said,* Construct the ark, in our sight and according to our revelation, and speak not unto me concerning those who have offended, *to beg me not to destroy them;* for they [*shall be*] drowned. And he constructed the ark; and whenever a company of his people passed by him, they derided him.† He said, If ye deride us, we will deride you, like as ye deride, *when we are saved, and ye are drowned,* and ye shall know on whom shall come a punishment which shall render him vile, and whom shall befall a lasting punishment. [*Thus he was employed*] until, when our decree *for their destruction* came to pass, and the *baker's* oven overflowed *with water*‡ (*for this was a*

* The above words, commencing after "saying," terminate chapter lxxi. excepting what are marked as parenthetical; these being from the commentary; and those enclosed in brackets, which I have inserted without authority.

† "For building a vessel in an inland country, and so far from the sea; and for that he was turned carpenter, after he had set up for a prophet."[1] (Sale.)

‡ "Or, as the original literally signifies, boiled over, [or boiled;] which is consonant to what the Rabbins say, that the waters of the deluge were boiling hot. —This oven was, as some say, at El-Koofeh, in a spot whereon a mosque now stands; or, as others rather think, in a certain place in India, or else at 'Eyn el-Wardeh in Mesopotamia.[2] Some pretend that it was the same oven which Eve made use of to bake her bread in, being of a form different from those we use, having the mouth in the upper part, and that it descended from patriarch to patriarch, till it came to Noah.[3] It is remarkable that Mohammad, in all probability, borrowed this circumstance from the Persian Magi, who also fancied that the first waters of the deluge gushed out of the oven of a certain old woman

[1] El-Beydáwee. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Vide* D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. art. Noah.

signal unto Noah), we said, Carry into it (*that is, into the ark*) of every pair, *male and female, of each of these descriptions,* two (*and it is related that God assembled for Noah the wild beasts and the birds and other creatures, and he proceeded to put his hands upon each kind, and his right hand fell always upon the male, and his left upon the female, and he carried them into the ark*), and thy family (excepting him upon whom the sentence *of destruction* hath already been pronounced, *namely, Noah's wife, and his son Canaan: but Shem and Ham and Japheth and their three wives he took*), and those who have believed; but there believed not with him save a few: *they were six men and their wives; and it is said that all who were in the ark were eighty; half of whom were men and half women.* And *Noah* said, Embark ye therein. In the name of God [*be*] its course and its moving.* Verily my Lord is very forgiving

named Zala Cûfa.[1]—But the word 'tennoor,' which is here translated 'oven,' also signifying 'the superficies of the earth,' or 'a place whence waters spring forth,' or 'where they are collected,' some suppose it means no more in this passage than the spot or fissure whence the first eruption of waters broke forth." (*Idem.*)

* It is a custom of many Muslims to pronounce these words, "In the name of God," &c. on embarking for any voyage.

"It is to be observed that the more judicious commentators make the dimensions of the ark to be the same with those assigned by Moses;[2] notwithstanding others have enlarged them most extravagantly,[3] as some Christian writers[4] have done. They likewise tell us that Noah was two years in building the ark, which was framed of Indian plane-tree;[5] that it was divided into three stories, of which the lower was designed for the beasts, the middle one for the men and women, and the upper for the birds;[6] and the men were separated from the women by the body of Adam, which Noah had taken into the ark.[7] This last is a tradition of the eastern Christians."[8] (Sale.)

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[1] *Vide* Hyde de rel. vet. Persar.; and Lord's account of the religion of the Persees, p. 9. [2] El-Beyḍáwee, &c. [3] Yaḥya. *Vide* Marracc. in Alcor., p. 340. [4] Origen. contr. Cels. lib. iv. *Vide* Kircher, de Arca Noe, c. viii. [5] El-Beyḍáwee. *Vide* D'Herbel. p. 675; and Eutych. p. 34. [6] El-Beyḍáwee. *Vide* Eutych. Annal. p. 34. [7] Yaḥya. [8] Jacob Edessenus, *apud* Barcepham de Parad. part i. c. 14. Eutych. *ubi supra. Vide etiam* Eliezer. pirke c. 23.

[*and*] merciful.—And it moved along with them amid waves like mountains; and Noah called unto his son *Canaan*, who was apart *from the ark*, O my child, embark with us, and be not with the unbelievers! He replied, I will betake me to a mountain which will secure me from the water. [*Noah*] said, There is nought that will secure to-day from the decree of God [*any*] but him on whom He hath mercy. And the waves intervened between them; so he became [*one*] of the drowned. And it was said, O earth, swallow up thy water (*whereupon it drank it up, except what had descended from heaven, which became rivers and seas*), and, O heaven, desist *from raining*;—and the water abated, and the decree was fulfilled, and it (*namely, the ark*) rested on El-Joodee (*a mountain of El-Jezeereh, near El-Mósil*);* and it was said, Perdition to the offending people.‡ (Chap. xi. vv. 38—46.)

* "This mountain is one of those which divide Armenia, on the south, from Mesopotamia and that part of Assyria which is inhabited by the Kurds, from whom the mountains took the name of 'Cardu,' or 'Gardu,' by the Greeks turned into 'Gordyæi,' and other names.[1] Mount El-Joodee (which name seems to be a corruption, though it be constantly so written by the Arabs, for Jurdee, or Giordi) is also called Themáneen,[2] probably from a town at the foot of it,[3] so named from the number of persons saved in the ark; the word 'themáneen' signifying 'eighty.' The tradition which affirms the ark to have rested on these mountains must have been very ancient, since it is the tradition of the Chaldeans themselves.[4] The Chaldee paraphrasts consent to their opinion,[5] which obtained very much formerly, especially among the eastern Christians.[6] [Sale, having stated as above, proceeds to observe that the relics of the ark were to be seen on the Gordyæn mountains, according to Berosus and Abydenus[7] and Epiphanius;[8] and adds:]' there was also formerly a famous monastery, called the Monastery of the Ark, upon some of these mountains, where the Nestorians used to celebrate a feast-day

‡ This passage is considered the most sublime in the Kur-án.

[1] See Bochart. Phaleg. lib. i. c. 3. [2] Georgr. Nub. p. 202. [3] *Vide* D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 404 and 676: and Agathiam, lib. xiv. p. 135. [4] Berosus, *apud* Joseph. antiq. lib. i. c. 4. [5] Onkelos and Jonathan, in Genes. viii. 4. [6] *Vide* Eutych. Annal. p. 41. [7] Berosus, *apud* Joseph *ubi supra*, Abydenus *apud* Euseb. Præp. Ev. lib. ix. c. 4. [8] Epiph. Hæres. 18.

¶ 3. And Noah called upon his Lord, and said, O my Lord, verily my son is of my family, *and Thou hast promised me to save them,* and verily thy promise is true, and Thou art the most just of those who exercise judgment. *God* replied, O Noah, verily he is not of thy family *who should be saved, or of the people of thy religion.* Verily it (*namely, thine asking me to save him*) is not a righteous act; *for he was an unbeliever, and there is no safety for the unbelievers;* therefore ask not of me that wherein thou hast no knowledge. I admonish thee, lest thou become [*one*] of the ignorant.—*Noah* said, O my Lord, I beg Thee to preserve me from asking Thee that wherein I have no knowledge; and if Thou do not forgive me and have mercy upon me, I shall be of those who suffer loss.—It was said, O Noah, descend *from the ark,** with peace from us, and blessings, upon thee and upon peoples [*that shall proceed*] from those who are with thee *in the ark* (*that is, their believing posterity*); but peoples [*that shall proceed*] *from those who are with thee* we will permit to enjoy *the provisions of this world;* then a painful punishment shall befall them from us, *in the world to come; they*

day on the spot where they suppose the ark rested; but in the year of Christ 776, that monastery was destroyed by lightning, with the church, and a numerous congregation in it:[1] since which time it seems the credit of this tradition hath declined, and given place to another, which obtains at present, and according to which the ark rested on Mount Masis in Armenia, called by the Turks 'Aghir Dàgh,' or the heavy or great mountain, and situate about twelve leagues south-east of Erivân."[2] (*Idem.*)

* The Mohammadans say that Noah went into the ark on the tenth of Rejeb, and came out of it on the tenth of Moharram; which therefore became a fast: so that the whole time of Noah's being in the ark, according to them, was six months."[3]—*Sale.*

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[1] *Vide* Chronic. Dionysii Patriarch. Jacobitar. Asseman. Bibl. Orient. T. ii. p. 113. [2] El-Beydáwee. [3] *Ibid.* See D'Herbel *ubi supra.*

being unbelievers.—These *verses containing the history of Noah* are [*part*] of the announcements of the things unseen which we reveal unto thee, *O Mohammad.* Thou didst not know them, nor did thy people, before this. Therefore be patient, *as Noah was;* for the *prosperous* issue is for those who fear. (Chap. xi. vv. 47—51.)

§ X. Of 'A'd and Thamood.

¶ 1. And *we sent* unto *the former* [*tribe of*] 'A'd* their brother Hood.† He said, O my people, worship God: *assert his unity.* Ye have no other deity than Him. Will ye not then fear *Him, and believe?*—The chiefs who disbelieved among his people answered, Verily we see thee to be in a foolish way, and verily we esteem thee one of the liars *with respect to the apostolic commission.* He replied, O my people, there is no folly in me; but I am an apostle from the Lord of the worlds. I bring unto you the messages of my Lord, and I am unto you a counsellor, entrusted *with the apostolic office.* Do ye wonder that an admonition hath come unto you from your Lord by *the tongue of* a man from among you, that he may warn you? And remember how He hath appointed you vicegerents *in*

* "'A'd was an ancient and potent tribe of Arabs, [respecting whom, see the Introduction, § i. ¶ 12,] and zealous idolators.[1] They chiefly worshipped four deities, Sáḳiyeh, Ḥáfiḍhah, Ráziḳah, and Sálimeh; the first, as they imagined, supplying them with rain, the second preserving them from all dangers abroad, the third providing food for their sustenance, and the fourth restoring them to health when afflicted with sickness;[2] according to the signification of the several names."—(Sale.)

† "Generally supposed to be the same person with Heber." (*Idem.*)

[1] Abu-l-Fida. [2] *Vide* D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. art. Houd.

the earth after the people of Noah, and increased you in tallness of stature. (*For the tall among them was a hundred cubits, and the short among them sixty.*) Remember then the benefits of God, that ye may prosper. They said, art thou come unto us that we may worship God alone, and relinquish what our fathers worshipped? Then bring upon us that *punishment* with which thou threatenest us, if thou be of those who speak truth.—He replied, Punishment and indignation from your Lord have become necessary for you. Do ye dispute with me concerning names which ye and your fathers have given *to idols which ye worship,* concerning which (*that is, the worship of which*) God hath not sent down any convincing proof? Then await ye *the punishment.* I am with you, of those who await *that, for your accusing me of falsehood. And the unprofitable wind was sent upon them.* But we delivered him (*namely, Hood*) and them who were with him (*of the believers*) by our mercy; and we cut off the uttermost part of those who charged our signs with falsehood, and who were not believers. (Chap. vii. vv. 63—70.)

¶ 2. And *we sent* unto *the tribe of* Thamood* their brother Ṣáleḥ.† He said, O my people, worship God. Ye have no other deity than Him. A *miraculous* proof *of my veracity* hath come unto you from your Lord, this she-camel of God being a sign unto you. [*He had caused her, at their demand, to come forth from the heart of a rock.*] Therefore let her feed in God's earth, and do her no harm, lest a painful punishment seize

* "Thamood was another tribe of the ancient Arabs who fell into idolatry." (Sale.)—See the introduction, § i. ¶ 13.

† "El-Beyḍáwee deduces his genealogy thus:—"Ṣáleh, the son of 'Obeyd, the son of Asaf, the son of Másikh, the son of 'Obeyd, the son of Ḥádhir, the son of Thamood." (*Idem.*)—But see again the Introduction, § i. ¶ 13.

you. And remember how He hath appointed you vicegerents *in the earth* after [*the tribe of*] 'A'd,* and given you a habitation in the earth: ye make yourselves, on its plains, pavilions *wherein ye dwell in summer*, and cut the mountains into houses *wherein ye dwell in winter*. Remember then the benefits of God, and do not evil in the earth, acting corruptly.—The chiefs who were elated with pride, among his people, said unto those who were esteemed weak, *namely*, to those who had believed among them, Do ye know that Ṣáleḥ hath been sent *unto you* from his Lord? They answered, *Yea:* verily we believe in that wherewith he hath been sent. Those who were elated with pride replied, Verily we disbelieve in that wherein ye have believed.—*And the she-camel had a day to water; and they had a day; and they became weary of this.* And they hamstrung the she-camel (*Kudár* [*the son of Sálif*] *doing so by their order, and slaying him with the sword*),† and they impiously transgressed the command of their Lord,‡ and said, O Ṣáleḥ, bring upon us that *punish-*

* "The tribe of Thamood dwelt first in the country of the 'Amalekites, but their numbers increasing, they removed to the territory of Ḥejr," as stated in the introduction. (Sale.)

† "This extraordinary camel frighting the other cattle from their pasture, a certain rich woman, named 'Oneyzeh Umm-Ghánim, having four daughters, dressed them out, and offered one Kudár his choice of them, if he would kill the camel. Whereupon he chose one, and, with the assistance of eight other men, hamstrung and killed the dam, and, pursuing the young one, which fled to the mountain, killed that also, and divided his flesh among them.[1] Others tell the story somewhat differently, adding Ṣadaḳah Bint-El-Mukhtár, as a joint conspiratress with 'Oneyzeh, and pretending that the young one was not killed."[2] (*Idem.*)

‡ "Defying the vengeance with which they were threatened; because they trusted in their strong dwellings hewn in the rocks, saying that the tribe of 'A'd perished only because their houses were not built with sufficient strength."[3] (*Idem.*)

[1] Abu-l-Fida. [2] El-Beyḍáwee. *Vide* D'Herbel. *ubi supra.* [3] El-Kisáee.

ment with which thou threatenest us *for killing her*, if thou be [*one*] of the apostles. And the violent convulsion (*a great earthquake, and a cry from heaven**) assailed them, and in the morning they were in their dwellings prostrate *and dead*. So he turned away from them, and said, O my people, I have brought unto you the message of my Lord, and given you faithful counsel; but ye loved not faithful counsellors. (Chap. vii. vv. 71—77.)

* "Like violent and repeated claps of thunder; which some say was no other than the voice of the angel Gabriel,[1] which rent their hearts.[2] It is said that after they had killed the camel, Ṣáleḥ told them that on the morrow their faces should become yellow, the next day red, and the third day black; and that on the fourth, God's vengeance should light on them: and that the first three signs happening accordingly, they sought to put him to death; but God delivered him, by sending him into Palestine."[3] (*Idem.*)

[1] See Intr. § i. ¶ 13. [2] Abu-l-Fida; and El-Beyḍáwee. [3] El-Beyḍáwee.

§ XI. Of Dhu-l-Ḳarneyn.

They (*namely the Jews*) will ask thee concerning Dhu-l-Ḳarneyn.* (*His name was El-Iskender, and he was not a prophet.*) Answer, I will recite unto you an account of him. We gave him ability in the earth, *by facilitating his journeying therein,* and gave him a way to *attain* everything *that he required.* And he followed a way *towards a place where the sun setteth,* until, when he came to the place where the sun setteth, he found that it set in a spring of black mud, *as it appeared to the eye; but really that spring was greater than the world;* and he found near it a people *who were unbelievers.*† We said, *by inspiration,* O Dhu-l-Ḳarneyn,

* In the Mirát ez-Zemán it is stated that there are various opinions respecting the age in which this person lived: 1st, that he lived in the first century after the Deluge, and was of the sons of Japheth, and was born in the land of the Greeks: so said 'Alee:—2nd, that he was after Thamood; so said El-Ḥasan:—3rd, that he was of the lineage of Esau the son of Isaac: so said Muḳátil:—4th, that he lived between the times of Moses and Jesus: 5th, that he lived between Jesus and Moḥammad:—and 6th, that he was of the lineage of Yoonán, son [as some say] of Noah, in the days of Abraham; and this, adds the author, is the most correct. —But some suppose him to be the same with Alexander the Great.—Respecting his surname of "Dhu-l-Ḳarneyn," the most obvious signification of which is "the two-horned," the more judicious in general are of opinion that he received it because he made expeditions to the extreme parts of the east and west, and therefore that it signifies "Lord of the two extreme parts of the Earth."

† "Who were clothed in the skins of wild beasts, and lived upon what the sea cast on shore."[1]—*Sale.*

[1] El-Beyḍáwee.

either punish *the people by slaughter*, or proceed against them gently, *taking them captives*. He said, As to him who offendeth *by polytheism*, we will punish him *by slaughter*: then he shall be taken back to his Lord, and He will punish him with a severe punishment, *in the fire of hell*. But as to him who believeth, and doth that which is right, he shall have, as a reward, paradise, and we will say unto him, in our command, *that which will be* easy *unto him*.—Then he followed a way *towards the place where the sun riseth*, until, when he came to the place where the sun riseth, he found that it rose upon a people (*namely, the Zenj*) unto whom we had not given anything wherewith to shelter themselves therefrom, *neither clothing nor roof; for their land bore no building; but they had subterranean dwellings, into which they retired at sunrise, and they came forth when the sun was high*. Thus *was the case;* and we comprehended with our knowledge what were with him (*namely Dhu-l-Karneyn*), *of weapons and forces and other things*.—Then he followed a way until, when he came between the two barriers (*or mountains, at the confines of the country of the Turks, between which is the barrier of El-Iskender,* as will be related presently*), he found before them a people who could scarce understand speech. They said, O Dhu-l-Karneyn, verily Yájooj and Májooj [*or Gog and Magog*]† are corrupting in the earth, *by plunder and tyranny, when they came forth unto us*. Shall we therefore pay thee tribute, on

* "The relation of a journey taken to this rampart, by one who was sent on purpose to view it by the Khaleefeh El-Wáthik, may be seen in D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. article Jagionge."—*Sale*.

† "The Arabs call them Yájooj and Májooj, and say they are two nations or tribes descended from Japheth the son of Noah; or, as others write, Gog are a

the condition that thou make a barrier between us and them?—He answered, The ability which my Lord hath given me, *by wealth and other things,* is better *than your tribute, which I need not. I will make the barrier for you gratuitously:* but assist me strenuously *by doing that which I desire:* I will make between you and them a strong barrier. Bring me pieces of iron *of the size of the blocks of stone used in building.—And he built with them, and placed amid them firewood and charcoal,* until, when it [*the mass*] filled up the space between the upper parts of the two mountains, *and he had put the bellows and fire around that mass,* he said, Blow ye [*with the bellows*]. *So they blew* until, when he had made it (*that is, the iron*) *like* fire, he said, Bring me molten brass, that I may pour upon it. *And he poured the molten brass upon the heated iron, so that it entered between its pieces, and the whole became one mass.* And they (*namely, Yájooj and Májooj*) were not able to ascend to its top, *by reason of its height and smoothness;* nor were they able to perforate it, *by reason of its hardness and thickness. Dhu-l-Ḳarneyn* said, This (*namely, the barrier, or the gift of the ability to construct it*) is a mercy from my Lord: but when the promise of my Lord *as to the eruption of Yájooj and Májooj shortly before the resurrection,* shall come *to be fulfilled,* He will reduce it (*namely, the barrier*) to dust; and the promise of my Lord *concerning their eruption and other events* is

tribe of the Turks, and Magog of those of Geelán,[1] the Geli and Gelæ of Ptolemy and Strabo.[2]—It is said these barbarous people made their irruptions into the neighbouring countries in the spring, and destroyed and carried off all the fruits of the earth; and some pretend they were man-eaters."[3] (*Idem.*)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee. *Vide* D'Herbel. art. Jagionge. [2] *Vide* Gol. in Alfrag. p. 207. [3] El-Beyḍáwee.

true. And we will suffer some of them, on that day (*the day of their eruption*) to pour tumultuously among others: and the trumpet shall be blown *for the resurrection,* and we will gather them (*namely, all creatures*) together in a body, *in one place.* And we will set hell, on that day, *near* before the unbelievers, whose eyes have been veiled from my admonition (*the Ḳur-án*), *and who, being blind, have not been directed by it,* and who could not hear *what the prophet recited unto them, by reason of their hatrèd of him; wherefore they believed not in him.* (Chap. xviii. vv. 82—101.)

§ XII. Of Abraham, Ishmael, and Isaac.

¶ 1. *Remember* when Abraham* said to his father A'zar (*this was the surname of Terah*),† Dost thou take images as deities‡? Verily I see thee and thy people to be in a manifest error.—(And thus, *as we showed him*

* Called in Arabic "Ibráheem."

† "A'zar, in ancient times, was the name of the planet Mars, and the month of March was so called by the most ancient Persians; for the word originally signifying *fire* (as it still does) it was therefore given by them and the Chaldeans to that planet,[1] which partaking, as was supposed, of a fiery nature, was acknowledged by the Chaldeans and Assyrians as a god or planetary deity, whom in old times they worshipped under the form of a pillar: whence A'zar became a name among the nobility, who esteemed it honourable to be denominated from their gods,[2] and is found in the composition of several Babylonish names. For these reasons, a learned author supposes A'zar to have been the heathen name of Terah, and that the other was given him on his conversion.[3] El-Beydáwee confirms this conjecture, saying that A'zar was the name of the idol which he worshipped. It may be observed that Abraham's father is also called Zarah in the Talmud, and Athar by Eusebius."—Sale.

‡ "That A'zar or Terah was an idolator is allowed on all hands; nor can it be denied, since he is expressly said in Scripture to have served strange gods.[4] The eastern authors unanimously agree that he was a statuary, or carver of idols; and he is represented as the first who made images of clay, pictures only having been in use before,[5] and taught that they were to be adored as Gods.[6] However, we are told his employment was a very honourable one,[7] and that he was a great lord, and in high favour with Nimrod, whose son-in-law he was,[8] because he made his idols for him, and was excellent in his art. Some of the Rabbins say Terah was a priest, and chief of the order."[9] (*Idem.*)

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[1] Hyde, de rel. vet. Pers. p. 63. [2] *Ib.* p. 64. [3] *Ib.* p. 62. [4] Josh. xxiv. 2, 14. [5] Epiphan. adv. Hær. lib. i. p. 7, 8. [6] Suidas in Lexico, *voce* Σερούχ. [7] *Vide* Hyde, *ubi supra*, p. 63. [8] D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 12. [9] Shalshel. hakkab. p. 94.

the error of his father and his people, did we show Abraham the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and [*we did so*] that he might be of [*the number of*] those who firmly believe.)* And when the night overshadowed him, he saw a star (*it is said that it was Venus*) [*and*] he said *unto his people, who were astrologers,* This is my Lord, *according to your assertion.*†—But when it set, he said, I like not those that set, *to take them as Lords, since it is not meet for a Lord to experience alteration, and change of place, as they are of the nature of accidents. Yet this had no effect upon them.* And when he saw the moon rising, he said *unto them,* This is my Lord.—But when it set, he said, Verily if my Lord direct me not (*if He confirm me not in the right way*), I shall assuredly be [*one*] of the erring people.—*This was a hint to his people, that they were in error; but it had no effect upon them.* And when he saw the sun rising, he said, This is my Lord. This is greater *than the star and the moon.*—But when it set, *and the*

* "That is, we gave him a right apprehension of the government of the world, and of the heavenly bodies, that he might know them all to be ruled by God." (Sale.)

† Since Abraham's parents were idolators, it seems to be a necessary consequence that himself was one also in his younger years: The Scripture not obscurely intimates as much;[1] and the Jews themselves acknowledge it.[2] At what age he came to the knowledge of the true God, and left idolatry, opinions are various. Some Jewish writers tell us, he was then but three years old,[3] and the Mohammadans likewise suppose him very young, and that he asked his father and mother several shrewd questions when a child.[4] Others however allow him to have been a middle-aged man at that time.[5] Maimonides, in particular, and R. Abraham Zacuth, think him to have been forty years old, which age is also mentioned in the Kur-án. But the general opinion of the Mohammadans is, that

[1] *Vide* Josh. xxiv. 2. 14; and Hyde, *ubi supra.* p. 59. [2] Joseph. Ant. lib. i. c. 7; Maimon. More Nev. part iii. c. 29; and Yad Hazzak. de Id. c. 1, &c. [3] Tanchuma, Talmud, Nedarim, 32, 1, and *apud* Maimon. Yad Hazz. *ubi supra.* [4] *Vide* D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Abraham. [5] Maimon *ubi supra.* R. Abr. Zacuth in Sefer Juchasin, Shalshel. hakkab. &c.

proof had been rendered more strong to them, yet, they desisted not, he said, O my people, verily I am clear of the [*things*] which ye associate *with God; namely, the images and the heavenly bodies. So they said unto him, What dost thou worship? He answered,* Verily I direct my face unto Him who hath created the heavens and the earth, following the right religion, and I am not of the polytheists.—And his people argued with him; [*but*] he said, Do ye argue with me respecting God, when He hath directed me, and I fear not what ye associate with Him, unless my Lord will *that* aught *displeasing should befall me?* My Lord comprehendeth everything by *His* knowledge. Will ye not therefore consider? And wherefore should I fear what ye have associated *with God,* when ye fear not for your having associated with God that of which He hath not sent down unto you a proof? Then which of the two parties is the more worthy of safety? *Are we, or you?* If ye know *who is the more worthy of it, follow him.*—

he was about fifteen or sixteen.[1] As the religion wherein Abraham was educated was the Sabian, which consisted chiefly in the worship of the heavenly bodies,[2] he is introduced examining their nature and properties, to see whether they had a right to the worship which was paid them, or not; and the first which he observed was the planet Venus, or, as others will have it, Jupiter.[3] This method of Abraham's attaining to the knowledge of the supreme Creator of all things is conformable to what Josephus writes, *viz.*:—That he drew his notions from the changes which he had observed in the earth and the sea, and in the sun and the moon, and the rest of the celestial bodies; concluding that they were subject to the command of a superior power, to whom alone all honour and thanks are due.[4] The story itself is certainly taken from the Talmud.[5] Some of the commentators however suppose this reasoning of Abraham with himself, was not the first means of his conversion, but that he used it only by way of argument, to convince the idolators among whom he then lived." (Sale.)

[1] *Vide* Hyde, *ubi supra*, p. 60, 61; and Hotting. Smegma Orient. p. 290, &c. Genebr. in Chron. [2] See Intr. § i. ¶ 24. [3] El-Beyḍáwee. [4] Joseph Ant. lib. i. c. 7. [5] R. Bechai, in Midrash. *Vide* Bartolocc. Bibl. Rabb. part i. p. 640.

God saith, They who have believed, and not mixed their belief with injustice (*that is, polytheism*), for these shall be safety *from punishment,* and they are rightly directed. (Chap. vi. vv. 74—82.)

¶ 2. Relate *unto them,* in the book *(that is the Ḳur-án), the history of* Abraham. Verily he was a person of great veracity; a prophet. When he said unto his father *A'zar, who worshipped idols,* O my father, wherefore dost thou worship that which heareth not, nor seeth, nor averteth from thee aught, *whether of advantage or of injury?* O my father, verily [*a degree*] of knowledge hath come unto me, that hath not come unto thee: therefore follow me: I will direct thee into a right way. O my father, serve not the devil, *by obeying him in serving idols;* for the devil is very rebellious unto the Compassionate. O my father, verily I fear that a punishment will betide thee from the Compassionate, *if thou repent not,* and that thou wilt be, unto the devil, an aider, *and a companion in hell-fire.*—He replied, Art thou a rejecter of my gods, O Abraham, *and dost thou revile them?* If thou abstain not, I will assuredly assail thee *with stones, or with ill words; therefore beware of me,* and leave me for a long time.—*Abraham* said, Peace *from me* be on thee! I will ask pardon for thee of my Lord; for He is gracious unto me: (*and he fulfilled his promise, by his words related in the Chapter of the Poets:**—*And forgive my father:*—*but this was before it was made manifest unto him that he was an enemy of God, as He hath mentioned him in the Chapter of Immunity;*†) and I will separate myself from you, and from what ye invoke instead of God; and I will call upon my Lord: perhaps I shall not be

* Chap. xxvi. of the Ḳur-án, v. 86. † Chap. ix. v. 115.

unsuccessful in calling upon my Lord, *as ye are in calling upon idols.*—And when he had separated himself from them, and from what they worshipped instead of God, *by going to the Holy Land,* we gave him *two sons, that he might cheer himself thereby, namely,* Isaac and Jacob; and each [*of them*] we made a prophet; and we bestowed upon them (*namely, the three*), of our mercy, *wealth and children;* and we caused them to receive high commendation. (Chap. xix. vv. 42—51.)

¶ 3. We gave unto Abraham his direction formerly, *before he had attained to manhood;* and we knew him *to be worthy of it.* When he said unto his father and his people, What are these images, to *the worship of* which ye are devoted?—they answered, We found our fathers worshipping them, *and we have followed their example.* He said, *unto them,* Verily ye and your fathers have been in a manifest error. They said, Hast thou come unto us with truth *in saying this,* or art thou [*one*] of those who jest? He answered, Nay, your Lord (*the being who deserveth to be worshipped*) is the Lord of the heavens and the earth, who created them, *not after the similitude of anything pre-existing;* and I am [*one*] of those who bear witness thereof. And, by God, I will assuredly devise a plot against your idols after ye shall have retired, turning your backs.—So, *after they had gone to their place of assembly, on a day when they held a festival,* he brake them in pieces *with an axe,* except the chief of them,* *upon whose neck he hung the axe;* that they might return unto it *(namely, the chief) and see what he had done with the others.* They said, *after they had returned, and seen what he had done,* Who hath done this unto

* "Named, by some writers, Baal."—*Sale.*

our gods? Verily he is [*one*] of the unjust.—*And some of them* said, We heard a young man mention them *reproachfully:* he is called Abraham. They said, Then bring him before the eyes of the people, that they may bear witness *against him, of his having done it.* They said *unto him, when he had been brought,* Hast thou done this unto our gods, O Abraham? He answered, Nay, this their chief did it: and ask ye them, if they [*can*] speak.* And they returned unto themselves, *upon reflection,* and said *unto themselves,* Verily ye are the unjust, *in worshipping that which speaketh not.* Then they reverted to their obstinacy, *and said,* Verily thou knowest that these speak not: *then wherefore dost thou order us to ask them?* He said, Do ye then worship, instead of God, that which doth not profit you at all, nor injure you *if ye worship it not?* Fy on you, and on that which ye worship instead of God! Do ye not then understand?—They said, Burn ye him, and avenge your gods, if ye will do *so. So they collected abundance of fire-wood for him, and set fire to it; and they bound Abraham, and put him into an engine, and cast him into the fire. But, saith God,* We said, O fire, be thou cold, and a security, unto Abraham! *So nought of him was burned save his bonds: the heat of the fire ceased, but its light remained; and by God's*

* Sale observes, that the Jews tell this story, with a little variation. "They say Abraham performed this exploit in his father's shop, during his absence; that Terah, on his return, demanded the occasion of the disorder, his son told him that the idols had quarrelled and fallen together by the ears about an offering of fine flour, which had been brought them by an old woman; and that the father, finding he could not insist on the impossibility of what Abraham pretended, without confessing the impotence of his gods, fell into a violent passion, and carried him to Nimrod, that he might be exemplarily punished for his insolence."[1]

[1] R. Gedal. in Shalshel. hakkab. p. 8. *Vide* Maimon. Yad hazzaka, c. i. de idol.

*saying, Security,—Abraham was saved from dying, by reason of its cold.** And they intended against him a plot; but he caused them to be the sufferers.† And we delivered him and Lot, *the son of his brother Haran, from El-'Eráḳ,* [*bringing them*] unto the land which we blessed for the peoples, *by the abundance of its rivers and trees; namely, Syria. Abraham took up his abode in Palestine, and Lot in El-Mu-tekifeh, between which is a day's journey.* And *when Abraham had asked a son,* we gave unto him Isaac, and Jacob as an additional gift, *beyond what he had asked, being a son's son;* and all of them we made righteous persons, *and prophets.* And we made them models of religion, who directed *men,* by our command, *unto our religion;* and we

* It is said "that the fire having miraculously lost its heat, in respect to Abraham, became an odoriferous air, and that the pile changed to a pleasant meadow; though it raged so furiously otherwise, that, according to some writers, about two thousand of the idolators were consumed by it."[1] (Sale.) "This story," observes Sale, "seems to have had no other foundation than that passage of Moses, where God is said to have brought Abraham *out of Ur of the Chaldees,*[2] misunderstood: which words the Jews, the most trifling interpreters of Scripture, and some moderns who have followed them, have translated *out of the fire of the Chaldees;* taking the word *Ur,* not for the proper name of a city, as it really is, but for an appellative, signifying *fire.*[3] However, it is a fable of some antiquity, and credited, not only by the Jews, but by several of the eastern Christians; the 25th of the 2nd Kánoon, or January, being set apart in the Syrian calendar for the commemoration of Abraham's being cast into the fire.[4]—The Jews also mention some other persecutions which Abraham underwent on account of his religion, particularly a ten years' imprisonment:[5] some saying he was imprisoned by Nimrod;[6] and others, by his father Terah."[7]

† "Some tell us that Nimrod, on seeing this miraculous deliverance from his palace, cried out, that he would make an offering to the God of Abraham; and that he accordingly sacrificed four thousand kine![8] But, if he ever relented, he [soon

[1] The MS. Gospel of Barnabas, c. xxviii. [2] Genes. xv. 7. [3] *Vide* Targ. Jonath. and Hierosol. in Genes. c. xi. & xv.; and Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p. 74, &c. [4] *Vide* Hyde, *ibid.* p. 73. [5] R. Eliez. Pirke, c. xxvi. &c. *Vide* Maim. More Nev. lib. iii. c. 29. [6] Glossa Talmud. in Gemar. Bava bathra, 91, 1. [7] In Aggada. [8] El-Beyḍáwee.

commanded them, by inspiration, to do good works, and to perform prayer, and to give the legal alms; and they served us. And unto Lot we gave judgment and knowledge; and we delivered him from the city which committed filthy actions; for they were a people of evil, shameful doers; and we admitted him into our mercy; for he was [*one*] of the righteous. (Chap. xxi. vv. 52—75.)

¶ 4. Hast thou not considered him who disputed with Abraham concerning his Lord, because God had given him the kingdom? *And he was Nimrod.* When Abraham said, (*upon his saying unto him, Who is thy Lord, unto whom thou invitest us?* My Lord is He who giveth life and causeth to die,—he replied, I give life, and cause to die.—*And he summoned two men, and slew one of them, and left the other. So when he saw that he understood not,* Abraham said, And verily God bringeth

soon relapsed into his former infidelity: for he built a tower that he might ascend to heaven to see Abraham's God; which being overthrown,[1] still persisting in his design, he would be carried to heaven in a chest borne by four monstrous birds; but after wandering for some time through the air, he fell down on a mountain with such a force, that he made it shake, whereto (as some fancy) a passage in the Ḳurán[2] alludes, which may be translated, 'although their contrivances be such as to make the mountains tremble.'—Nimrod, disappointed in his design of making war with God, turned his arms against Abraham, who, being a great prince, raised forces to defend himself; but God, dividing Nimrod's subjects, and confounding their language, deprived him of the greater part of his people, and plagued those who adhered to him by swarms of gnats, which destroyed almost all of them; and one of those gnats having entered into the nostril, or ear, of Nimrod, penetrated to one of the membranes of his brain, where, growing bigger every day, it gave him such intolerable pain, that he was obliged to cause his head to be beaten with a mallet, in order to procure some ease, which torture he suffered four hundred years; God being willing to punish, by one of the smallest of his creatures, him who insolently boasted himself to be lord of all.[3] A Syrian calendar places the death of Nimrod, as if the time were well known, on the eighth of Tamooz, or July."[4] (Sale.)

[1] See Ḳur-án, ch. xvi. v. 28. [2] Chap. xiv. v. 47. [3] *Vide* D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient art. Nemrod. Hyde, *ubi supra.* [4] Hyde, *ibid.* p. 74.

the sun from the east: now do thou bring it from the west.—And he who disbelieved was confounded; and God directeth not the offending people. (Chap. ii. v. 260.)

¶ 5. And our messengers* came formerly unto Abraham with good tidings, *of Isaac and Jacob, who should be after him.* They said, Peace. He replied, Peace *be on you.* And he tarried not, but brought a roasted calf. And when he saw that their hands touched it not, he disliked them, and conceived a fear of them. They said, Fear not; for we are sent unto the people of Lot, *that we may destroy them.* And his wife *Sarah* was standing *serving them,* and she laughed, *rejoicing at the tidings of their destruction.* And we gave her the good tidings of Isaac;† and after Isaac, Jacob.‡ She said, Alas! shall I bear a child when I am an old woman, *of nine and ninety years,* and when this my husband is an old man, *of a hundred, or a hundred and twenty years?* Verily this [*would be*] a wonderful thing.—They said, Dost thou wonder at the command of God? The mercy of God, and his blessings, be on you, O people of the house (*the house of Abraham*)! for he is praiseworthy; glorious.—And when the terror had departed from Abraham, and the good tidings had come unto him, he disputed with us (*that is, with our messengers*) respecting the people of Lot; for Abraham was gentle, compassionate, re-

* "These were the angels, who were sent to acquaint Abraham with the promise of Isaac, and to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah. Some of the commentators pretend they were twelve, or nine, or ten in number; but others, agreeably to Scripture, say they were but three, *viz.* Gabriel, Michael and Isráfeel."[1] (*Idem.*)

† Called in Arabic "Is-ḥáḳ."

‡ Called in Arabic, "Yaaḳoob."

[1] El-Beyḍáwee. See Gen. xviii.

pentant. *And he said unto them, Will ye destroy a city wherein are three hundred believers? They answered, No. He said, And will ye destroy a city wherein are two hundred believers? They answered, No. He said, And will ye destroy a city wherein are forty believers? They answered, No. He said, And will ye destroy a city wherein are fourteen believers? They answered No. He said, And tell me, if there be in it one believer? They answered No. He said, Verily in it is Lot. They replied, We best know who is in it. And when their dispute had become tedious, they said,* O Abraham, abstain from this *disputation;* for the command of thy Lord hath come *for their destruction,* and a punishment not [*to be*] repelled is coming upon them. (Chap. xi. vv. 72—78.)

¶ 6. And when our decree *for the destruction of the people of Lot* came [*to be executed*], we turned them (*that is, their cities*) upside-down; *for Gabriel raised them to heaven, and let them fall upside-down to the earth;** and we rained upon them stones of baked clay, sent one after another, marked with thy Lord, *each with the name of him upon whom it should be cast:* and they [*are*] not far distant from the offenders; *that is, the stones are not, or the cities of the people of Lot were not, far distant from the people of Mekkeh.* (Chap. xi. v. 84.)

¶ 7. And [*Abraham*] said, [*after his escape from Nimrod,*] Verily I am going unto my Lord, who will

* "They tell us that Gabriel thrust his wing under them, and lifted them up so high, that the inhabitants of the lower heaven heard the barking of the dogs, and the crowing of the cocks; and then inverting them, threw them down to the earth."[1] (Sale.)

[1] El-Beydáwee.

direct me *unto the place whither He hath commanded me to go, namely Syria. And when he had arrived at the Holy Land, he said,* O my Lord, give me *a son* [*who shall be one*] of the righteous. Whereupon we gave him the glad tidings of a mild youth. And when he had attained to the age when he could work with him (*as some say, seven years; and some, thirteen*), he said, O my child, verily I have seen in a dream that I should sacrifice thee (*and the dreams of prophets are true; and their actions, by the commamd of God*); therefore consider what thou seest advisable *for me to do.* He replied, O my father, do what thou art commanded: thou shalt find me, if God please, [*one*] of the patient. And when they had resigned themselves, and he had laid him down on his temple, *in* [*the valley of*] *Mina,** *and had drawn the knife across his throat, but it produced no effect, by reason of an obstacle interposed by the divine power,* we called unto him, O Abraham, thou hast verified the vision. Verily thus do we reward the well-doers. Verily this was the manifest trial. And we ransomed him *whom he had been commanded to sacrifice* (*and he was Ishmael,*† *or Isaac; for there are two opinions*)‡ with an excellent victim, *a ram from paradise,*

* Now commonly called Muna. † Called, in Arabic "Isma'eel."

‡ "It is the most received opinion among the Mohammadans, that the son whom Abraham offered was Ishmael, and not Isaac; Ishmael being his only son at that time: for the promise of Isaac's birth is mentioned lower, as subsequent in time to this transaction. They also allege the testimony of their prophet, who is reported to have said, 'I am the son of the two who were offered in sacrifice; meaning his great ancestor, Ishmael, and his own father 'Abd-Allah: for 'Abd-El-Muttal'ib had made a vow, that if God would permit him to find out and open the well Zemzem, and should give him ten sons, he would sacrifice one of them; accordingly, when he had obtained his desire in both respects, he cast lots on his sons, and the lot falling on 'Abd-Allah, he redeemed him by offering a hundred camels, which was therefore ordered to be the price of a man's blood in the Sunneh." (Sale.)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee, and Ez-Zamakhsher'ee.

the same that Abel had offered: Gabriel (on whom be peace! brought it, and the lord Abraham sacrificed it, saying, God is most great! And we left *this salutation* [*to be bestowed*] on him by the latter generations, Peace [*be*] on Abraham! Thus do we reward the well-doers: for he [*was one*] of our believing servants. (Chap. xxxvii. vv. 97—111.)

¶ 8. *Remember* when Abraham said, O my Lord, show me how Thou will raise to life the dead.*—He said, Hast thou not believed? He answered, Yea: but *I have asked Thee* that my heart may be at ease. He replied, Then take four birds, and draw them towards thee, *and cut them in pieces, and mingle together their flesh and their feathers;* then place upon each mountain *of thy land* a portion of them; then call them *unto thee:* they shall come unto thee quickly: and know thou that God is mighty [*and*] wise.—*And he took a peacock and a vulture and a raven and a cock, and did with them as hath been described, and kept their heads with him, and called them; whereupon the portions flew about, one to another, until they became complete: then they came to their heads.*† (Chap. ii. v. 262.)

¶ 9. *Remember* when his Lord had tried Abraham by [*certain*] words, *commands and prohibitions,* and he fulfilled them, *God* said *unto him,* I constitute thee a

* "The occasion of this request of Abraham is said to have been a doubt proposed to him by the devil, in human form, how it was possible for the several parts of a corpse of a man which lay on the sea-shore, and had been partly devoured by the wild beasts, the birds, and the fish, to be brought together at the resurrection."[1] (Sale.)

† "This," observes Sale, "seems to be taken from Abraham's sacrifice of birds mentioned by Moses (in Genesis, ch. xv.) with some additional circumstances." (*Idem.*)

[1] See D'Herbelot, p. 13.

model of religion* unto men. He replied, And of my offspring *constitute models of religion.* [*God*] said, My covenant doth not apply to the offenders, *the unbelievers among them.*—And when we appointed the house (*that is, the Ḳaabeh*†) to be a place for the resort of men, and a place of security (*a man would meet the slayer of his father there and he would not provoke him* [*to revenge*],) and [*said*], Take, *O men,* the station of Abraham (*the stone upon which he stood at the time of building the House*) as a place of prayer, *that ye may perform behind it the prayers of the two rek'ahs*‡ [*which are ordained to be performed after the ceremony*] *of the circuiting* [*of the Ḳaabeh*].—And we commanded Abraham and Ishmael, [*saying,* Purify my House (*rid it of the idols*) for those who shall compass [*it*], and those who shall abide *there,* and those who shall bow down and prostrate themselves.—And when Abraham said, O my Lord, make this *place* a secure territory (*and God hath answered his prayer, and made it a sacred place, wherein the blood of man is not shed, nor is any one oppressed in it, nor is its game hunted,* [*or shot*], *nor are its plants cut or pulled up*§), and supply its inhabitants with fruits (*which hath been done by the transporting of Et-Ṭáïf from Syria thither, when it* [*that is, the territory of Mekkeh*] *was*

* "In the original, 'Imâm,' " which answers to the Latin *Antistes.* This title the Moḥammadans give to their priests, [if such a title may be used, for want of one more correct,] who begin the prayers in their mosques, and whom all the congregation follow." (Sale.)

† See Intr. § i. ¶ 7.

‡ The term "rek'ah" signifies the repetition of a set form of words, chiefly from the Ḳur-án, and ejaculations of "God is most Great!" &c. accompanied by particular postures; part of the words being repeated in an erect posture; part sitting; and part in other postures: an inclination of the head and body, followed by two prostrations, distinguishing each rek'ah. Each of the five daily prayers of the Muslims consist of a certain number of rek'ahs.

§ See again Intr. *ubi supra;* and Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia, p. 465.

*desert, without sown land, or water,** such of them as shall believe in God and the last day.—*He mentioned them peculiarly in the prayer agreeably with the saying of God, My covenant doth not apply to the offenders.—God* replied, And *I will supply* him who disbelieveth: I will make him to enjoy *a supply of food in this world,* a little *while:* then I will force him, *in the world to come,* to the punishment of the fire; and evil shall be the transit. (Chap. ii. vv. 118—120.)

¶ 10. And *remember* when Abraham was raising the foundations of the House† (*that is, building it*), together with Ishmael, *and they said,* O our Lord, accept of us *our building;* for Thou art the Hearer *of what is said,* the Knower *of what is done.* O our Lord, also make us resign‡ unto Thee, and *make* from among our offspring a people resigned unto Thee, and show us our rites (*the ordinances of our worship, or our pilgrimage*), and be propitious towards us; for Thou art the Very Propitious; the Merciful. (*They begged Him to be propitious to them, notwithstanding their honesty, from a motive of humility, and by way of instruction to their offspring.*) O our Lord, also send unto them (*that is, the people of the House*) an apostle from among them (*and God hath answered their prayer by sending Moham-*

* The city of Eṭ-Ṭâïf was so called, according to Abu-l-Fida and several other Arab authors, because it, with the adjacent fields, was separated from Syria, during the Deluge, and, after floating round about upon the water, at length rested in its present situation, where its soil has continued to produce the fruits of Syria.[1]

† Namely, the Kaabeh.

‡ In the original, "Muslims," which is the peculiar and very appropriate title of the believers in the religion taught by Mohammad; and as he professed not to teach a religion essentially *new*, this title is given to all true believers before him.

[1] *Vide* Abulfedæ Vit. Moham. p. 29, note b.

mad), who shall recite unto them Thy signs (*the Kur-án*), and shall teach them the book (*the Kur-án*) and the knowledge *that it containeth*, and shall purify them *from polytheism;* for Thou art the Mighty; the Wise.—And who will be averse from the religion of Abraham but he who maketh his soul foolish, *who is ignorant that it is God's creation, and that the worship of Him is incumbent on it; or who lightly esteemeth it, and applieth it to vile purposes;* when we have chosen Him in this world *as an apostle and a friend*, and he shall be in the world to come one of the righteous *for whom are high ranks?—And remember* when his lord said unto him, Resign thyself:—he replied, I resign myself unto the Lord of the worlds.—And Abraham commanded his children to follow it (*namely, the religion*); and Jacob, *his children; saying*, O my children, verily God hath chosen for you the religion *of El-Islám*;* therefore die not without your being Muslims.†—*It was a prohibition from abandoning El-Islám, and a command to persevere therein unto death.* (Chap. ii. vv. 121—126.)

¶ 11. *When the Jews said, Abraham was a Jew, and we are of his religion,—and the Christians said the like,* [*the following*] *was revealed:*—O people of the Scripture, wherefore do ye argue respecting Abraham, *asserting that he was of your religion*, when the Pentateuch and the Gospel were not sent down but after him *a long time?* Do ye not then understand *the falsity of your saying?* So, ye, O people, have argued respecting that of which ye have knowledge, *concerning Moses*

* "El-Islám" signifies the *resigning* oneself to God and to his service; and is the name given by Mohammad to that religion which, he asserted, all the prophets before him had taught, and he restored; the foundation of which was the unity of God.

† See the note next before that immediately preceding.

and Jesus, and have asserted that ye are of their religion: then wherefore do ye argue respecting that of which ye have no knowledge, *concerning Abraham?* But God knoweth *his case,* and ye know *it* not. Abraham was not a Jew, nor a Christian: but he was orthodox, a Muslim, [*or one resigned,*] *a unitarian,* and he was not of the polytheists. (Chap. iii. vv. 58—60.)

§ XIII. Of Jacob, and Joseph, and his Brethren.

¶ 1. *Remember* when Joseph* said unto his father,† O my father, verily I saw, *in sleep*, eleven stars, and the sun and the moon: I saw them making obeisance unto me. He replied, O my child, relate not thy vision to thy brethren, lest they contrive a plot against thee, *knowing its interpretation to be, that they are the stars, and that the sun is thy mother, and the moon thy father;* for the devil is unto man a manifest enemy. And thus, *as thou sawest*, thy Lord will choose thee, and teach thee the interpretation of events, *or dreams*, and will accomplish his favour upon thee *by the gift of prophecy*, and upon the family of Jacob, as He accomplished it upon thy fathers before, Abraham and Isaac; for thy Lord is knowing [*and*] wise.—Verily in *the history of* Joseph and his brethren are signs to the inquirers.—When they (*the brethren of Joseph*) said, *one to another*, Verily Joseph and his brother *Benjamin* are dearer unto our father than we, and we are a number of men: verily our father is in a manifest error: slay ye Joseph, or drive him away into a *distant* land; so the face of your father shall be directed alone unto you, *regarding*

* Called in Arabic "Yoosuf." † Yaaḳoob, or Jacob.

no other, and ye shall be after it a just people,—a speaker among them,* *namely Judah,* said, Slay not Joseph; but throw him to the bottom of the well; then some of the travellers may light upon him, if ye do *this. And they were satisfied therewith.* They said, O our father, wherefore dost thou not entrust us with Joseph, when verily we are faithful unto him? Send him with us to-morrow *into the plain,* that he may divert himself, and sport; and we will surely take care of him.—He replied, Verily your taking him away will grieve me, and I fear lest the wolf devour him while ye are heedless of him. They said, Surely if the wolf devour him, when we are a number of men, we shall in that case be indeed weak. *So he sent him with them.* And when they went away with him, and agreed to put him at the bottom of the well, *they did so.*† *They pulled off his shirt, after they had beaten him, and had treated him with contempt, and had desired to slay him;*

* "This person, as some say, was Judah, the most prudent and noble-minded of them all; or according to others, Reuben, whom the Mohammadan writers call Roobeel.[1] And both these opinions are supported by the account of Moses, who tells us, that Reuben advised them not to kill Joseph, but to throw him into a pit privately, intending to release him;[2] and that afterwards Judah, in Reuben's absence, persuaded them not to let him die in the pit, but to sell him to the Ishmaelites."[3] (Sale.)

† "This well, say some, was a certain well near Jerusalem, or not far from the river Jordan; but others call it the well of Egypt, or Midian. The commentators tell us, that when the sons of Jacob had gotten Joseph with them in the field, they began to abuse and to beat him so unmercifully, that they had killed him, had not Judah, on his crying out for help, insisted on the promise they had made not to kill him, but to cast him into the well. Whereupon they let him down a little way; but as he held by the sides of the well, they bound him, and took off his inner garment, designing to stain it with blood, to deceive their father. Joseph begged hard to have his garment returned to him, but to no purpose, his brothers telling him, with a sneer, that the eleven stars and the sun and the moon might clothe him and keep him company."[4] (*Idem.*)

[1] Ez-Zamakhsher'ee. [2] Gen. xxxvii. 21, 22. [3] *Ibid.* v. 26, 27. [4] El-Beyḍáwee, and Ez-Zamakhsher'ee.

and they let him down; and when he had arrived half-way down the well, they let him fall, that he might die; and he fell into the water. He then betook himself to a mass of rock; and they called to him; so he answered them, imagining that they would have mercy upon him. They however desired to crush him with a piece of rock; but Judah prevented them. And we said unto him by revelation, *while he was in the well (and he was then seventeen years of age, or less,) to quiet his heart,* Thou shalt assuredly declare unto them this their action, and they shall not know *thee at the time.** And they came to their father at night-fall, weeping. They said, O our father, we went to run races,† and left Joseph with our clothes, and the wolf devoured him; and thou wilt not believe us, though we speak truth. And they brought false blood upon his shirt. *Jacob* said *unto them,* Nay, your minds have made a thing seem pleasant unto you, *and ye have done it;*‡ but patience is becoming, and God's assistance is implored with respect to that which ye relate. (Chap. xii. vv. 4—18.)

¶ 2. And travellers came, *on their way from Medyen (or Midian) to Egypt, and alighted near the well;*§ and

* "The commentators pretend that Gabriel also clothed him in the well with a garment of silk of paradise. For they say that when Abraham was thrown into the fire by Nimrod,[1] he was stripped; and that Gabriel brought him this garment and put it on him; and that from Abraham it descended to Jacob, who folded it up and put it into an amulet, which he hung about Joseph's neck, whence Gabriel drew it out."[2] (Sale.)

† "These races they used by way of exercise; and the commentators generally understand here that kind of race wherein they also showed their dexterity in throwing darts, which is still used in the east." (*Idem.*)

‡ "This Jacob had reason to suspect, because, when the garment was brought to him, he observed that, though it was bloody, yet it was not torn."[3] (*Idem.*)

§ "Three days after Joseph had been thrown into it." (*Idem.*)

[1] See before, § xii. ¶ 3. [2] El-Beyḍáwee, and Ez-Zamaksher'ee. [3] El-Beyḍáwee.

they sent their drawer of water,* and he let down his bucket *into the well: so Joseph caught hold upon it, and the man drew him forth; and when he saw him,* he said, O good news! This is a young man!—*And his brethren thereupon knew his case; wherefore they came unto him,* and they concealed his case, *making him* as a piece of merchandize; *for they said, He is our slave, who hath absconded. And Joseph was silent, fearing lest they should slay him.*† And God knew that which they did. And they sold him for a mean price, [*for*] some dirhems counted down, *twenty, or two-and-twenty;* and they were indifferent to him. *The travellers then brought him to Egypt, and he who had bought him sold him for twenty deenárs and a pair of shoes and two garments.* And the Egyptian who bought him, *namely Kitfeer,*‡ said unto his wife *Zeleekha,* Treat him hospitably; peradventure he may be advantageous to us, or we may adopt him as a son. *For he was childless.* And thus we prepared an establishment for Joseph in the land *of Egypt,* to teach him the interpretation of

* "The commentators are so exact as to give us the name of this man, who as they pretend, was Málik Ibn-Doar, of the tribe of Khuzá'ah."[1]—(Sale.)

† "The expositors are not agreed whether the pronoun *they* [in the words 'and they concealed his case'] relates to Málik and his companions, or to Joseph's brethren. They who espouse the former opinion say, that those who came to draw water concealed the manner of their coming by him from the rest of the caravan, that they might keep him to themselves; pretending that some people of the place had given him to them to sell for them in Egypt. And they who prefer the latter opinion tell us, that Judah carried victuals to Joseph every day while he was in the well; but not finding him there on the fourth day, he acquainted his brothers with it: whereupon they all went to the caravan, and claimed Joseph as their slave, he not daring to discover that he was their brother, lest something worse should befal him; and at length they agreed to sell him to them."[2]—(*Idem.*)

‡ A corruption of Potiphar. "He was a man of great consideration, being superintendent of the royal treasury."[3] (*Idem.*)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

events, *or dreams*; for God is well able to effect his purpose; but the greater number of men, *namely the unbelievers,* know not *this.* And when he had attained his age of strength (*thirty years, or three-and-thirty*), we bestowed on him wisdom and knowledge *in matters of religion, before he was sent as a prophet;* for thus do we recompense the well-doers. (Chap. xii. vv. 19—22.—*Then follows an account of his temptation by his mistress Zeleekha.*)

¶ 3. Then it seemed good unto them,* after they had seen the signs *of his innocence, to imprison him.* They will assuredly imprison him for a time, *until the talk of the people respecting him cease. So they imprisoned him.* And there entered with him into the prison two young men, *servants of the king, one of whom was his cup-bearer, and the other was his victualler. And they found that he interpreted dreams; wherefore,* one of them, *namely the cup-bearer,* said, I dreamed that I was pressing grapes:—and the other said, I dreamed that I was carrying upon my head some bread, whereof the birds did eat: acquaint us with the interpretation thereof; for we see thee to be [*one*] of the beneficent. —He replied, There shall not come unto you any food wherewith ye shall be fed *in a dream,* but I will acquaint you with the interpretation thereof *when ye are awake,* before *the interpretation of* it come unto you. This is *a part* of that which my Lord hath taught me. Verily I have abandoned the religion of a people who believe

* "That is, to Ḳiṭfeer and his friends. The occasion of Joseph's imprisonment is said to be, either that they suspected him to be guilty, notwithstanding the proofs which had been given of his innocence, or else that Zeleekha desired it, feigning, to deceive her husband, that she wanted to have Joseph removed from her sight, till she could conquer her passion by time; though her real design was to force him to compliance." (Sale.)

not in God, and who disbelieve in the world to come; and I follow the religion of my fathers, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. It is not *fit* for us to associate anything with God. This *knowledge of the unity* [*hath been given us*] of the bounty of God towards us and towards mankind; but the greater number of men are not thankful. O ye two companions (*or inmates*) of the prison, are sundry lords better, or is God, the One, the Almighty? Ye worship not, beside Him, [*aught*] save names which ye and your fathers have given *to idols*, concerning which God hath not sent down any convincing proof. Judgment belongeth not [*unto any*] save unto God *alone*. He hath commanded that ye worship not [*any*] but Him. This is the right religion; but the greater number of men know not. O ye two companions of the prison, as to one of you, *namely, the cup-bearer*, he will serve wine unto his lord *as formerly;* and as to the other, he will be crucified, and the birds will eat from off his head.—*Upon this they said, We dreamed not aught. He replied,* The thing is decreed concerning which ye [*did*] ask a determination, *whether ye have spoken true or lied.* And he said unto him whom he judged to be the person who should escape, of them two, *namely the cup-bearer,* Mention me unto thy lord, *and say unto him, In the prison is a young man imprisoned unjustly.—And he went forth.* But the devil caused him to forget to mention *Joseph* unto his lord:*

* "According to the explication of some, who take the pronoun *him* to relate to Joseph, this passage may be rendered, 'But the devil caused him (*i. e.* Joseph) to forget to make his application unto his lord;' and to beg the good offices of his fellow-prisoner for his deliverance, instead of relying on God alone, as it became a prophet, especially, to have done."[1] (Sale.)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee.

so he remained in the prison some years: *it is said, seven; and it is said, twelve.* (Chap. xii. vv. 35—42.)

¶ 4. And the king *of Egypt,** *Er-Reiyán the son of El-Weleed,* said, Verily I saw [*in a dream*] seven fat kine which seven lean *kine* devoured, and seven green ears of corn and *seven* other *ears* dried up. O ye nobles, explain unto me my dream, if ye interpret a dream.—They replied, *These are* confused dreams, and we know not the interpretation of dreams. And he who had escaped, of the two *young men, namely the cup-bearer,* said, (for he remembered after a time, *the condition of Joseph,*) I will acquaint you with the interpretation thereof; wherefore send me. *So they sent him; and he came unto Joseph, and said,* O Joseph, O thou of great veracity, give us an explanation respecting seven fat kine which seven lean [*kine*] devoured, and seven green ears of corn and other [*seven*] dried up, that I may return unto the men (*the king and his companions*), that they may know *the interpretation thereof.* He replied, Ye shall sow seven years as usual: *this is the interpretation of the seven fat kine:* and what ye reap do ye leave in its ear, *lest it spoil;* except a little, whereof ye shall eat. Then there shall come, after that, seven grievous [*years*]: *this is the interpretation of the seven lean kine:* they shall consume what ye shall have provided for them, *of the grain sown in the seven years of plenty,* except a little which ye shall have kept. Then

* "This prince, as the oriental writers generally agree, was Er-Reiyán the son of El-Weleed the Amalekite,[1] who was converted by Joseph to the worship of the true God, and died in the life-time of that prophet. But some pretend that the Pharoah of Joseph and of Moses were one and the same person, and that he lived (or rather reigned) four hundred years."[2] (Sale.)

[1] See Intr. § i. ¶ 15. [2] El-Beyḍáwee.

there shall come, after that, a year wherein men shall be aided *with rain,** and wherein they shall press *grapes and other fruits.*—And the king said, *when the messenger came unto him, and acquainted him with the interpretation of the dream,* Bring unto me him *who hath interpreted it.* (Chap. xii. vv. 43—50.)

¶ 5. And when he had spoken unto him,† He said *unto him,* Thou art this day firmly established with us, and intrusted *with our affairs. What then seest thou fit for us to do?—He answered, Collect provision, and sow abundant seed in these plentiful years, and store up the grain in its ear: then the people will come unto thee that they may obtain provision from thee. The king said, And who will act for me in this affair? Joseph* said, Set me over the granaries of the land; for I am careful [*and*] knowing. —Thus did we prepare an establishment for Joseph in the land, that he might take for himself a dwelling therein wherever he pleased.—*And it is related that the*

* "Notwithstanding what some ancient authors write to the contrary,[1] it often rains in winter in the lower Egypt, and even snow has been observed to fall at Alexandria, contrary to the express assertion of Seneca.[2] In the Upper Egypt indeed, towards the Cataracts of the Nile, [and throughout the Thebaïs, and even in middle Egypt,] it rains very seldom. Some, however, suppose that the rains here mentioned are intended of those which should fall in Ethiopia, and occasion the swelling of the Nile, the great cause of the fertility of Egypt; or else of those which should fall in the neighbouring countries, which were also afflicted with famine during the same time." (Sale,)

† "The commentators say, that Joseph, being taken out of prison, after he had washed, and changed his clothes, was introduced to the king, whom he saluted in the Hebrew tongue, and on the king's asking what language that was, he answered, that it was the language of his fathers. This prince, they say, understood no less than seventy languages, in every one of which he discoursed with Joseph, who answered him in the same; at which the king greatly marvelling, desired him to relate his dream, which he did, describing the most minute circumstances: whereupon the king placed Joseph by him on his throne, and made him his Wezeer, or chief minister."[3] (*Idem.*)

[1] Plato, in Timæs. Pomp. Mela. [2] Nat. Quæst. lib. iv. [3] El-Beydáwee, &c.

*king crowned him, and put a ring on his finger, and instated him in the place of Kitfeer, whom he dismissed from his office; after which, Kitfeer died, and thereupon the king married him to his wife Zeleekha, and she bore him two sons.**—We bestow our mercy on whom we please, and we cause not the reward of the well-doers to perish: and certainly the reward of the world to come is better, for those who have believed and have feared. (Chap. xii. vv. 54—57.)

¶ 6. *And the years of scarcity commenced, and afflicted the land of Canaan and Syria,* and the brethren of Joseph came, *except Benjamin, to procure provision, having heard that the governor of Egypt gave food for its price.*† And they went in unto him, and he knew them; but they knew him not; *and they spake unto him in the Hebrew language; whereupon he said, as one*

* Namely Ephraim and Manasses: "so that according to this tradition, she was the same woman who is called 'Asenath' by Moses. This supposed marriage, which authorized their amours, probably encouraged the Mohammadan divines to make use of the loves of Joseph and Zeleekha as an allegorical emblem of the spiritual love between the Creator and the creature, God and the soul; just as the Christians apply the song of Solomon to the same mystical purpose."[1] (Sale.)

† "Joseph, being made Wezeer, governed with great wisdom; for he not only caused justice to be impartially administered, and encouraged the people to industry and the improvement of agriculture during the seven years of plenty, but began and perfected several works of great benefit; the natives at this day ascribing to the patriarch Joseph almost all the ancient works of public utility throughout the kingdom; as particularly the rendering the province of El-Feiyoom, from a standing pool or marsh, the most fertile and best cultivated land in all Egypt.[2] When the years of famine came, the effects of which were felt not only in Egypt, but in Syria and the neighbouring countries, the inhabitants were obliged to apply to Joseph for corn, which he sold to them, first for their money, jewels, and ornaments, then for their cattle, and lands, and at length for their persons; so that all the Egyptians in general became slaves to the king, though Joseph, by his consent, soon released them, and returned them their substance."[3] (*Idem.*)

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[1] *Vide* D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. art. Jousouf. [2] *Vide* Golii. not in Alfragan, p. 175, &c. Kircher, Œdip. Ægypt. vol. i. p. 8. Lucas, Voy. tom. ii. p. 205, and tom. iii. p. 53. [3] El-Beyḍáweo.

who distrusted them, What hath brought you to my country? So they answered, For corn. But he said, Perhaps ye are spies. They replied, God preserve us [from being spies]! He said, Then whence are ye? They answered, From the land of Canaan, and our father is Jacob, the prophet of God. He said, And hath he sons beside you? They answered, Yea: we were twelve; but the youngest of us went away, and perished in the desert, and he was the dearest of us unto him; and his uterine brother remained, and he retained him that he might console himself thereby for the loss of the other. And Joseph gave orders to lodge them, and to treat them generously.* And when he had furnished them with their provision, *and given them their full measure,* he said, Bring me your brother from your father, *namely Benjamin, that I may know your veracity in that ye have said.* Do ye not see that I give full measure, and that I am the most hospitable of the receivers of guests? But if ye bring him not, there shall be no measuring *of corn* for you from me, nor shall ye approach me.—They replied, We will solicit his father for him, and we will surely perform *that.* And he said unto his young men, Put their money,† *which they brought as the price of the corn,* in their sacks, that they may know

* "At length Joseph asked them whom they had to vouch for their veracity; but they told him they knew no man who could vouch for them in Egypt. Then, replied he, one of you shall stay behind with me as a pledge, and the others may return home with their provision; and when ye come again, ye shall bring your younger brother with you, that I may know ye have told me the truth. Whereupon, it being in vain to dispute the matter, they cast lots who should stay behind, and the lot fell upon Simeon. When they departed, Joseph gave each of them a camel, and another for their brother."[1] (Sale.)

† "The original word signifying not only money, but also goods bartered or given in exchange for other merchandise, some commentators tell us, that they paid for their corn, not in money, but in shoes and dressed skins."[2]

[1] El-Beydáwee. [2] *Idem.*

it when they have returned to their family: peradventure they will return *to us; for they will not deem it lawful to keep it.*—And when they returned to their father, they said, O our father, the measuring [*of corn*] is denied us *if thou send not our brother unto him;* therefore send with us our brother, that we may obtain measure; and we will surely take care of him. He said, Shall I entrust you with him otherwise than as I entrusted you with his brother *Joseph* before, [*that is, with any better success*] *?* But God is the best guardian, and He is the most merciful of those who show mercy. —And when they opened their goods, they found their money had been returned unto them. They said, O our father, what desire we *of the generosity of the king, greater than this?* This our money has been returned unto us; and we will provide corn for our family, and will take care of our brother, and shall receive a camel-load more, *for our brother.* This is a quantity easy *unto the king, by reason of his munificence.*—He said, I will by no means send him with you until ye give me a solemn promise by God, that ye will assuredly bring him back unto me unless *an inevitable and insuperable impediment* encompass you. *And they complied with this his desire.* And when they had given him their solemn promise, he said, God is witness of what we say. *And he sent him with them;* and he said, O my sons, enter not *the city of Miṣr* by one gate; but enter by different gates; *lest the* [*evil*] *eye fall upon you.** But I shall

* The belief in the influence of the evil eye prevails among all the Muslims, even the most religious and learned; for their prophet said, "The eye has a complete influence; because verily, if there were a thing to overcome fate, it most certainly would be a malignant eye."[1] Hence he permitted charms (which he disallowed in almost every other case) to be employed for the purpose of counteracting its influence.

[1] Mishkàt el-Maṣábeeḥ, vol. ii. p. 377.

not avert from you, *by my saying this,* anything *decreed to befall you* from God: *I only say this from a feeling of compassion.* Judgment belongeth not [*unto any*] save unto God *alone.* On Him do I rely, and on Him let those rely who rely. (Chap. xii. vv. 58—67.)

¶ 7. And when they entered as their father had commanded them, *separately,* it did not avert from them anything *decreed to befall them* from God, but [*only satisfied*] a desire in the soul of Jacob, which he accomplished; *that is, the desire of averting the* [*evil*] *eye, arising from a feeling of compassion:* and he was endowed with knowledge, because we had taught him: but the greater number of men, *namely the unbelievers,* know not *God's inspiration of his saints.* And when they went in unto Joseph, he received unto him (*or pressed unto him*) his brother. He said, Verily I am thy brother;* therefore be not sorrowful for that which they did *from envy to us. And he commanded him that he should not inform them, and agree with him that he should employ a stratagem to retain him with him.* And when he had furnished them with their provision, he put the cup, *which was a measure made of gold set with jewels,*† in the sack of his brother *Benjamin.* Then

* "It is related that Joseph, having invited his brethren to an entertainment, ordered them to be placed two and two together; by which means, Benjamin, the eleventh, was obliged to sit alone, and, bursting into tears, said, If my brother Joseph were alive, he would have sat with me. Whereupon Joseph ordered him to be seated at the same table with himself, and when the entertainment was over, dismissed the rest, ordering that they should be lodged two and two in a house, but kept Benjamin in his own apartment, where he passed the night. The next day, Joseph asked him, whether he would accept of himself for his brother, in the room of him whom he had lost; to which Benjamin replied, 'Who can find a brother comparable unto thee? Yet thou art not the son of Jacob and Rachel' And upon this, Joseph discovered himself to him."[1] (Sale.)

† Some, however, are of opinion that it was a drinking-cup.

[1] El-Beydáwee.

a crier cried, *after they had gone forth from the chamber of Joseph,* O company of travellers, ye are surely thieves. They said (and turned unto them), What is it that ye miss? They answered, We miss the king's measure; and to him who shall bring it [*shall be given*] a camel-load *of corn,* and I am surety for it, *namely the load.* They replied, By God! ye well know that we have not come to act corruptly in the land, and we have not been thieves. *The crier and his companions* said, Then what shall be the recompense of him *who hath stolen it,* if ye be liars *in your saying, We have not been thieves,—and it be found among you?* They answered, His recompense [*shall be that*] he in whose sack it shall be found *shall be made a slave:* he, *the thief,* shall be compensation for it; *namely, for the thing stolen. Such was the usage of the family of Jacob.* Thus do we recompense the offenders *who are guilty of theft.—So they turned towards Joseph, that he might search their sacks.* And he began with their sacks, *and searched them* before the sack of his brother [*Benjamin*], *lest he should be suspected.* Then he took it forth (*namely the measure*) from the sack of his brother. Thus, *saith God,* did we contrive a stratagem for Joseph. It was not [*lawful*] for him to take his brother *as a slave for theft* by the law of the king *of Egypt* (*for his recompense by his law was beating, and a fine of twice the value of the thing stolen; not the being made a slave*), unless God had pleased, *by inspiring him to inquire of his brethren, and inspiring them to reply according to their usage.* We exalt unto degrees [*of knowledge and honour*] whom we please, *as Joseph;* and [*there is who is*] knowing above every one [*else*] endowed with knowledge.—They said, If he steal, a brother of his hath

stolen before; *namely Joseph;** *for he stole an idol of gold belonging to the father of his mother, and broke it, that he might not worship it.* And Joseph concealed it in his mind, and did not discover it to them. He said, *within himself,* Ye are in a worse condition *than Joseph and his brother, by reason of your having stolen your brother from your father, and your having treated him unjustly;* and God well knoweth what ye state *concerning him.*—They said, O prince, verily he hath a father, a very old man, *who loveth him more than us, and consoleth himself by him for the loss of his son who hath perished, and the separation of him grieveth him;* therefore take one of us *as a slave* in his stead; for we see thee [*to be one*] of the beneficent. He replied, God preserve us from taking [*any*] save him in whose possession we found our property; for then (*if we took another*), we [*should be*] unjust. (Chap. xii. vv. 68—79.)

¶ 8. And when they despaired of [*obtaining*] him, they retired to confer privately together. The chief of them *in age (namely, Reuben, or in judgment, namely Judah,)* said, Do ye not know that your father hath obtained of you a solemn promise in the name of God, *with respect of your brother,* and how ye formerly failed of your duty with respect to Joseph? Therefore I will

* "The occasion of this suspicion, it is said, was, that Joseph having been brought up by his father's sister, she became so fond of him, that when he grew up, and Jacob designed to take him from her, she contrived the following stratagem to keep him. Having a girdle which had once belonged to Abraham, she girt it about the child, and then pretending she had lost it, caused strict search to be made for it; and it being at length found on Joseph, he was adjudged, according to the above mentioned law of the family, to be delivered to her as her property. Some, however, [as is seen in the interwoven commentary above,] say that Joseph actually stole an idol of gold, which belonged to his mother's father, and destroyed it; a story probably taken from Rachel's stealing the images of Laban: and others tell us that he once stole a goat, or a hen, to give to a poor man." (Sale.)

by no means depart the land *of Egypt* until my father give me permission *to return to him,* or God decide for me *by the delivery of my brother;* and He is the best, *the most just,* of those who decide. Return ye to your father, and say, O our father, verily thy son hath committed theft, and we bore not testimony *against him* save according to that which we knew *of a certainty, by our seeing the cup in his sack;* and we were not acquainted with what was unseen *by us when we gave the solemn promise: had we known that he would commit theft, we had not taken him. And send thou,* and ask *the people of* the city in which we have been (*namely Miṣr*)* and the company of travellers with whom we have arrived (*who were a people of Canaan*): and we are surely speakers of truth.—*So they returned to him, and said unto him those words.* He replied, Nay, your minds have made a thing seem pleasant unto you, *and ye have done it* (*he suspected them, on account of their former conduct in the case of Joseph*); but patience is becoming: peradventure God will bring them back (*namely Joseph and his brother*) unto me, together; for He is the Knowing *with respect to my case,* the Wise *in His acts.* And he turned from them, and said, Oh! my sorrow for Joseph! And his eyes became white in consequence of mourning, and he was oppressed with silent grief. They said, By God, thou wilt not cease to think upon Joseph until thou be at the point of death, or be of [*the number of*] the dead. He replied, I only complain of my great and unconcealable grief and my sorrow unto God; *not unto any beside Him; for He it is unto whom complaint is made with advantage;*

* Miṣr is the name both of Egypt and its capital. It is now vulgarly pronounced Maṣr.

and I know [*by revelation*] from God what ye know not; *namely, that the dream of Joseph was true, and that he is living. Then he said,* O my sons, go and seek news of Joseph and his brother; and despair not of the mercy of God; for none despaireth of the mercy of God except the unbelieving people. (Chap. xii. vv. 80—87.)

¶ 9. *So they departed towards Egypt, unto Joseph;* and when they went in unto him, they said, O prince, distress (*that is, hunger*) hath affected us and our family, and we have come with paltry money (*it was base money, or some other sort*): yet give us full measure, and be charitable to us, *by excusing the badness of our money;* for God recompenseth those who act charitably. *And he had pity upon them, and compassion affected him, and he lifted up the curtain that was between him and them: then* he said, *unto them in reproach,* Do ye know what ye did unto Joseph, *in beating and selling and other actions,* and his brother, *by your injurious conduct to him after the separation of his brother,* when ye were ignorant *of what would be the result of the case of Joseph?** They replied, *after they had recognized him* (*desiring confirmation*), Art thou indeed Joseph? He answered, I am Joseph, and this is my brother. God hath been gracious unto us, *by bringing us together;* for

* "The injury they did Benjamin was the separating him from his brother; after which they kept him in so great subjection, that he durst not speak to them, but with the utmost submission. Some say that these words were occasioned by a letter which Joseph's brethren delivered to him from their father, requesting the releasement of Benjamin, and by their representing his extreme affliction at the loss of him and his brother. The commentators observe that Joseph, to excuse his brethren's behaviour towards him, attributes it to their ignorance, and the heat of youth."[1] (Sale.)

[1] El-Beydáwee.

whosoever feareth *God,* and is patient, [*will be rewarded*]: God will not suffer the reward of the well-doers to perish. They replied, By God, verily God hath preferred thee above us, and we have been indeed sinners. He said, [*There shall be*] no reproach [*cast*] on you this day: God forgive you; for He is the most merciful of those who show mercy. *And he asked them respecting his father: so they answered, His eyes are gone. And he said,* Go ye with this my shirt (*it was the shirt of Abraham, which he wore when he was cast into the fire: it was on his* [*that is, Joseph's*] *neck* [*appended as an amulet*] *in the well; and it was from paradise: Gabriel commanded him to send it, and said, In it is its odour,* [*that is, the odour of paradise,*] *and it shall not be cast upon any one afflicted* [*with a disease*] *but he shall be restored to health*), and cast it [*said Joseph*] upon the face of my father: he shall recover his sight; and bring unto me all your family.—And when the company of travellers had gone forth *from El-'Areesh* of Egypt,* their father said, *unto those who were present, of his offspring,* Verily I perceive the smell of Joseph (*for the zephyr had conveyed it to him, by permission of Him whose name be exalted, from the distance of three days' journey, or eight, or more*): were it not that ye think I dote, *ye would believe me.* They replied, By God, thou art surely in thine old error. And when the messenger of good tidings (*namely Judah*) came *with the shirt* (*and he had borne the bloody shirt; wherefore he desired to rejoice him, as he had grieved him*), he cast it upon his face, and he recovered his sight. [*Thereupon Jacob*] said, Did I not say unto you, I know, from God, what ye know not? They said, O our father, ask pardon of

* The frontier-town of Egypt, towards Syria.

our crimes for us; for we have been sinners. He replied, I will ask pardon for you of my Lord; for He is the Very forgiving, the Merciful.—*He delayed doing so until the first appearance of the dawn, that the prayer might be more likely to be answered; or, as some say, until the night of* [*that is, preceding*] *Friday.* (Chap. xii. vv. 88—99.)

¶ 10. *They then repaired to Egypt, and Joseph and the great men came forth to meet them;* and when they went in unto Joseph, *in his pavilion or tent,* he received unto him (*or pressed unto him*) his parents (*his father and his mother and his maternal aunt*), and said unto *them,* Enter ye Miṣr, if God please, in safety.* *So they entered; and Joseph seated himself upon his couch,* and he caused his parents to ascend upon the seat of state, and they (*that is, his parents and his brethren*) fell down, bowing themselves unto him† (*bending, but not putting the forehead* [*upon the ground*]*: such being their mode of obeisance in that time.* And he said, O my father, this is the interpretation of my dream of former times: my Lord hath made it true; and He hath shewn favour unto me, since He took me forth from the prison (*he said not, from the well,—from a motive of generosity that his brethren might not be abashed*), and hath brought you from the desert, after that the devil had excited

* "El-Beyḍáwee tell us, that Joseph sent carriages and provisions for his father and his family; and that he and the king of Egypt went forth to meet them. He adds, that the number of the children of Israel who entered Egypt with him was seventy-two; and that when they were led out thence by Moses, they were increased to six hundred thousand five hundred and seventy men, and upwards, besides the old people and children." (*Sale.*)

† "A transposition is supposed to be in these words, and that he seated his father and mother after they had bowed down to him, and not before."[1] (*Idem.*)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee.

discord between me and my brethren; for my Lord is gracious unto whom He pleaseth; for He is the Knowing, the Wise.—*And his father resided with him four and twenty years, or seventeen; and the period of his separation was eighteen, or forty, or eighty, years. And death came unto him; and thereupon he charged Joseph that he should carry him and bury him by his fathers. So he went himself, and buried him. Then he returned to Egypt, and remained after him three and twenty years; and when his case was ended, and he knew that he should not last* [*upon earth*], *and his soul desired the lasting possession, he said,* O my Lord, Thou hast given me dominion, and taught me the interpretation of events (*or dreams*): Creator of the heavens and the earth, Thou art my guardian in this world and in the world to come. Make me to die a Muslim, and join me with the righteous *among my forefathers. And he lived after that a week, or more, and died a hundred and twenty years old. And the Egyptians disputed concerning his burial: so they put him in a chest of marble, and buried him in the upper part of the Nile, that the blessing* [*resulting from him*] *might be general to the tracts on each side of it.** *Extolled be the perfection of Him to whose dominion there is no end!*—This is [*a part*] of the announcements of the things unseen *by thee, O Mohammad,* which we reveal unto thee, and thou wast not with them when they concerted their design, devising a plot. But the greater number of the people (*namely the people of Mekkeh*) will not, though thou eagerly desire [*it*], be believers. (Chap. xii. vv. 100—103.)

* "But when Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt, he took up the coffin, and carried Joseph's bones with him into Canaan, where he buried them by his ancestors."[1] (Sale.

[1] El-Beyḍáwee.

§ XIV. Of Job.

And remember our servant Job,* when he called unto his Lord, Verily the devil hath afflicted me with calamity and pain. (*The affliction is attributed to the devil, though all was from God.*) *And it was said unto him,* Strike *the earth* with thy foot. *And he did so; whereupon a fountain of water sprang forth.*† *And it was said,* This *is* cool *water for thee* to wash with, and to drink. *So he washed himself and drank; and every*

* Called in Arabic "Eiyoob." "The Mohammadan writers tell us that Job was of the race of Esau, and was blessed with a numerous family, and abundant riches; but that God proved him by taking away all that he had, even his children, who were killed by the fall of a house; notwithstanding which, he continued to serve God, and to return Him thanks, as usual; that he was then struck with a filthy disease, his body being full of worms, and so offensive, that as he lay on the dunghill none could bear to come near him: that his wife, however, (whom some call Rahmeh the daughter of Ephraim the son of Joseph, and others Makhir[1] the daughter of Manasses) attended him with great patience, supporting him with what she earned by her labour: but that the devil appearing to her one day, after having reminded her of her past prosperity, promised her that if she would worship him, he would restore all they had lost; whereupon she asked her husband's consent, who was so angry at the proposal, that he swore, if he recovered, to give his wife a hundred stripes."[2] (Sale, in a note to chap. xxi.)

† Some say there were two springs, one of hot water, wherein he bathed; and the other of cold, of which he drank."[3] (Sale.)

[1] I am not certain of the orthography of this word. (E.W.L.) [2] El-Beydáwee, Jelál ed-Deen, Abu-l-Fida, &c. See D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Aioub. [3] El-Beydáwee.

disease that he had, external and internal, quitted him. And we gave unto him his family, and as many more with them (*that is, God raised to life for him those of his children who had died, and blest him with as many more**), in our mercy, and as an admonition unto those who are endowed with faculties of understanding. [*And we said unto him*], Take in thy hand a handful *of dry grass, or of twigs,*† and strike with it *thy wife* (*for he had sworn that he would inflict upon her a hundred blows, because she had staid away from him too long one day*‡), and break not thine oath *by abstaining from striking her.—So he took a hundred stalks of schœmanthus, or some other plant, and gave her one blow with them.* Verily we found him a patient person. How excellent a servant *was he!* For he was one who earnestly turned himself unto God. (Chap. xxxviii. vv. 40—44.)

* "His wife also becoming young and handsome again, and bearing him twenty-six sons. Some, to express the great riches which were bestowed on Job after his sufferings, say he had two threshing-floors, one for wheat, and the other for barley, and that God sent two clouds, which rained gold on the one, and silver on the other, till they ran over.[1] The traditions differ as to the continuance of Job's calamities: one will have it to be eighteen years; another, thirteen; another, three; and another, exactly seven years, seven months and seven hours." (Sale, in the note on chap. xxi. before referred to.)

† Or "a palm-branch having a hundred leaves." (*Idem, Ibid.*)

‡ A different and a better reason for her chastisement has been mentioned above.

[1] Jelál-ed-Deen.

§ XV. Of Sho'eyb.

And *we sent* unto Medyen (*or Midian*) their brother Sho'eyb.* He said, O my people, worship God; *assert His unity,* Ye have no other deity than Him. And give not short measure and weight. Verily I see you [*to be*] in a state of prosperity *that placeth you above the need of doing so;* and verily I fear for you, *if ye believe not,* the punishment of a day that will encompass *you with destruction.* And, O my people, give full measure and weight, with equity; and diminish not unto men *aught* of their things, nor commit injustice in the earth, acting corruptly, *by murder or other offences.* The residue of God (*his supply that remaineth to you after the completion of the measure*) will be better for you *than*

* "They generally suppose him to be the same person with the father-in-law of Moses, who is named in Scripture 'Reuel' or Raguel,' and 'Jethro.'[1] But Aḥmad Ibn-'Abd-El-Ḥaleem charges those who entertained this opinion with ignorance (Sale, in a note to chap. vii.) Various opinions are entertained by the Muslim writers respecting his genealogy. "They say (after the Jews) that he gave his son-in-law [Moses] that wonder-working rod[2] with which he performed all those miracles in Egypt and the Desert, and also excellent advice and instructions;[3] whence he had the surname of 'Khaṭeeb el-Ambiya,' or 'the Preacher to the Prophets.'"[4] (Sale, *ubi supra.*)

[1] Exod. ii. 18; iii. 1. [2] El-Beyḍáwee. *Vide* Shalshel. hakkab. p. 12.
[3] Exod. xviii. 13, &c. [4] *Vide* D'Herbelot Bibl. Orient. art. Schoaib.

diminution, if ye be believers. And I am not a guardian over you, *to recompense you for your actions: I have only been sent as an admonisher.*—They replied, *in mockery,* O Sho'eyb, do thy prayers command thee that we are to leave what our fathers worshipped, or *cease* to do with our riches what we please? Verily thou art the mild, the right director. *This they said in mockery.*—He said, O my people, tell me, if I act according to an evident proof from my Lord, and He hath supplied me with a good *lawful* provision, shall I mix it up with what is forbidden, And shall I not desire to oppose you, *and shall I betake myself* to that which I forbid you? I desire not [*aught*] but *your* reformation, as far as I am able [*to effect it*], and my help is not [*in any*] but in God: on Him do I rely, and unto him do I turn me. And, O my people, let not the opposition of me procure for you the befalling you of the like of that which befell the people of Noah, or the people of Hood, or the people of Ṣáleḥ. And *the abodes of* the people of Lot [*are*] not distant from you, *or the time of their destruction was not long ago: therefore be admonished.* And ask ye forgiveness of your Lord, and turn unto Him with repentance; for my Lord is merciful *to the believers,* loving *to them.* They replied, O Sho'eyb, we understand not much of what thou sayest, and verily we see thee to be weak*, among us; and were it not for thy family, we had stoned thee; for thou art not, in our estimation, an honourable person: *thy family only are the honourable.* He said, O my people, are my family more honourable in your estimation than God,

* "The Arabic word 'ḍa'eef' (weak) signifying also, in the Ḥemyeritic dialect 'blind,' some suppose that Sho'eyb was so, and that the Midianites objected that to him, as a defect which disqualified him for the prophetic office." (Sale.)

and do ye abstain from slaying me for their sake, and not preserve me for God, and have ye cast him behind you as a thing neglected? Verily my Lord comprehendeth that which ye do, *and He will recompense you.* And, O my people, act ye according to your condition: verily I will act *according to mine.* Ye shall know on whom shall come a punishment that shall render him vile, and who is a liar: and await ye *the issue of your case:* verily I await with you.—And when our decree *for their destruction* came [*to be executed*], we delivered Sho'eyb and those who believed with him, in our mercy, and the cry *of Gabriel* assailed those who had offended, so that in the morning they were in their abodes prostrate *and dead,* as though they had not dwelt therein. Was not Medyen removed as Thamood had been removed? (Chap. xi. vv. 85—98.)

§ XVI. Of Moses and his People.

¶ 1. We will rehearse unto thee, [*O Mohammad, somewhat*] of the history of Moses* and Pharoah,† with truth, for *the sake of* people who believe. Verily Pharoah exalted himself in the land *of Egypt*, and divided its inhabitants into parties *to serve him*. He rendered weak one class of them, *namely the children of Israel*, slaughtering their male children, and preserving alive their females, *because one of the diviners said unto*

* Called in Arabic 'Moosa.'

† Called in Arabic 'Fir'own' and 'Far'oon.' "Which of the kings of Egypt this Pharoah of Moses was, is uncertain. Not to mention the opinions of the European writers, those of the east generally suppose him to have been El-Weleed, who, according to some, was an Arab of the tribe of 'A'd, or, according to others, the son of Muṣ'ab, the son of Er-Reiyán, the son of El-Weleed[1] the Amalekite.[2] There are historians, however, who suppose Ḳáboos the brother and predecessor of El-Weleed was the prince we are speaking of; and pretend he lived six hundred and twenty years, and reigned four hundred. Which is more reasonable, at least, than the opinion of those who imagine it was his father Muṣ-'ab, or grandfather Er-Reiyán.[3] Abu-l-Fida says, that Muṣ'ab, being one hundred and seventy years old, and having no child, while he kept the herds saw a cow calve, and heard her say, at the same time, 'O Muṣ'ab, be not grieved, for thou shalt have a wicked son, who will be at length cast into hell.' And he accordingly had this Weleed, who afterwards coming to be king of Egypt, proved an impious tyrant." (Sale, in a note, to Chap. vii.)

[1] See Intr. § i. ¶ 15. [2] Abu-l-Fida, &c. [3] Kitáb tefseer libáb; and el-Keshsháf.

*him, A child will be born among the children of Israel, who will be the means of the loss of thy kingdom;**—for he was [*one*] of the corrupt doers. And we desired to be gracious unto those who had been deemed weak in the land, and to make them models of religion, and to make them the heirs *of the possessions of Pharoah,* and to establish them in the land *of Egypt, and in Syria,*† and to show Pharaoh and Hámán‡ and their forces what they feared from them. And we said, by revelation, unto the mother of Moses, *the child above mentioned, of whose birth none knew save his sister,* Suckle him; and when thou fearest for him, cast him in the river *Nile,* and fear not *his being drowned,* nor mourn *for his separation;* for we will restore him unto thee, and will make him [*one*] of the apostles.§ *So she suckled him three months, during which he wept not; and then she feared for him, wherefore she put him into an ark, pitched within, and furnished with a bed for him; and she closed it, and cast it in the river Nile, by night.* And the family (*or*

* The Jews have a like tradition, as mentioned by Sale.[1]

† "Some suppose the Israelites, after the destruction of Pharaoh and his host, returned to Egypt, and possessed themselves of the riches of that country.[2] But others are of opinion that the meaning is no more than that God gave them the like possessions and dwellings in another country."[3] (Sale, in a note to chap. xxvi.) See also below, a note to ¶ 11 of this section.

‡ This name is given to Pharaoh's chief minister; from whence it is generally inferred that Moḥammad has here made Hámán the favourite of Ahasuerus king of Persia, and who indisputably lived many years after Moses, to be that prophet's contemporary.—But..two very different persons may bear the same name." (Sale.)

§ "It is related that the midwife appointed to attend the Hebrew women, terrified by a light which appeared between the eyes of Moses at his birth, and touched with an extraordinary affection for the child, did not discover him to the officers, so that his mother kept him in her house, and nursed him three months; after which it was impossible for her to conceal him any longer, the king then giving orders to make the searches more strictly."[4] (Sale.)

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[1] *Vide* Shalshel. hakkab, p. 11; and R. Eliez. Pirke, c. 48. [2] Jelál-ed-Deen; and Yaḥya. [3] Ez-Zamakhsher'ee. [4] El-Beyḍáwee.

servants) of Pharoah lighted upon him *in the ark, on the morrow of that night;** *so they put it before him, and it was opened, and Moses was taken forth from it, sucking milk from his thumb:* [*this happened*] that he might be unto them *eventually* an enemy (*slaying their men*) and an affliction (*making slaves of their women*); for Pharaoh and Kámán (*his Wezeer*) and their forces were sinners; *wherefore they were punished by his hand.* And the wife of Pharaoh said, *when he and his servants had proposed to kill him, He is* a delight of the eye unto me and unto thee: do not ye kill him: peradventure he may be serviceable unto us, or we may adopt him as a son. *And they complied with her desire;* and they knew not *the consequence.* (Chap. xxviii. vv. 2—8.)

¶ 2. And the heart of the mother of Moses, *when she knew of his having been lighted upon,* became disquieted; and she had almost made him known *to be her son,* had we not fortified her heart with patience, that she might be [*one*] of the believers *in our promise.* And she said unto his sister *Maryam* [*or Mary*], Trace him, *that thou mayest know his case.* And she watched him from a distance, while they knew not *that she was his*

* "The commentators say, that his mother made an ark of the papyrus, and pitched it, and put in some cotton; and having laid the child therein, committed it to the river, a branch of which went into Pharaoh's garden: that the stream carried the ark thither into a fish pond, at the head of which Pharaoh was then sitting, with his wife A'siyeh the daughter of Muzáḥem; and the king, having commanded it to be taken up and opened, and finding in it a beautiful child, took a fancy to it, and ordered it to be brought up.[1]—Some writers mention a miraculous preservation of Moses before he was put into the ark; and tell us, that his mother having hid him from Pharaoh's officers in an oven, his sister, in her mother's absence, kindled a large fire in the oven to heat it, not knowing the child was there; but that he was afterwards taken out unhurt."[2] (Sale, in a note to chap. xx.)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee. [2] Abu-l-Fida, &c.

sister, and that she was watching him. And we forbade him the breasts, *preventing him from taking the breast of any nurse except his mother,* before *his restoration to her:* so *his sister* said, Shall I direct you unto the people of a house who will nurse him for you, and who will be faithful unto him? *And her offer was accepted: therefore she brought his mother, and he took her breast: so she returned with him to her house, as God hath said,*— And we restored him to his mother, that her eye might be cheerful, and that she might not grieve, and that she might know that the promise of God *to restore him unto her* was true: but the greater number of them (*that is, of mankind*) know not *this. And it appeared not that this was his sister, and this his mother; and he remained with her until she had weaned him; and her hire was paid her, for every day a deenár, which she took* [*without scruple*] *because it was the wealth of a hostile person. She then brought him unto Pharaoh, and he was brought up in his abode, as God hath related of him in the Chapter of the Poets,** [*where Pharaoh said unto Moses,*] *Have we not brought thee up among us a child, and hast thou not dwelt among us* [*thirty*] *years of thy life?* (Chap. xxviii. vv. 9—12.)

¶ 3. And when he had attained his age of strength (*thirty years or thirty and three*), and had become of full age (*forty years*), we bestowed on him wisdom and knowledge *in religion, before he was sent as a prophet;* and thus do we reward the well-doers. And he entered the city *of Pharaoh, which was Munf or Memphis*], *after he had been absent from him a while,* at a time when its inhabitants were inadvertent, *at the hour of the noon-sleep,* and he found therein two men fighting; this

* Chap. xxvi. of the Kurán, verse 17.

[*being*] of his party (*namely, an Israelite*), and this of his enemies (*an Egyptian*), *who was compelling the Israelite to carry fire-wood to the kitchen of Pharaoh, without pay:* and he who was of his party begged him to aid him against him who was of his enemies. *So Moses said unto the latter, Let him go. And it is said that he replied to Moses, I have a mind to put the burden upon thee.* And Moses struck him with his fist, and killed him. *But he intended not to kill him; and he buried him in the sand.* He said, This is of the work of the devil, *who hath excited my anger;* for he is an enemy *unto the son of Adam,* a manifest misleader *of him!* He said, *in repentance,* O my Lord, verily I have acted injuriously unto mine own soul, *by killing him;* therefore forgive me! So He forgave him; for He is the Very Forgiving, the Merciful.—He said, O my Lord, by the *favours* with which Thou hast favoured me, *defend me,* and I will by no means be an assistant to the sinners *after this!*—and the next morning he was afraid in the city, watching *for what might happen unto him on account of the slain man;* and lo, he who had begged his assistance the day before, was crying out to him for aid *against another Egyptian.* Moses said unto him, Verily thou art a person manifestly in error, *because of that which thou hast done, yesterday and to day.* But when he was about to lay violent hands upon him who was an enemy unto them both, *namely, unto Moses and him who begged his aid, the latter* said, *imagining that he would lay violent hand upon him, because of that which he had said unto him,* O Moses, dost thou desire to kill me, as thou killedst a soul yesterday? Thou desirest not [*aught*] but to be an oppressor in the land, and thou desirest not to be [*one*] of the recon-

cilers.*—*And the Egyptian heard that: so he knew that the killer was Moses; wherefore he departed unto Pharaoh, and acquainted him therewith; and Pharaoh commanded the executioners to slay Moses; and they betook themselves to seek him.* But a man *who was a believer of the family of Pharaoh,*† came from the furthest part of the city, running, *by a way that was nearer than the way by which they had come:* he said, O Moses, verily the chiefs *of the people of Pharaoh* are consulting respecting thee, to slay thee; therefore go forth *from the city:* verily I am unto thee [*one*] of the admonishers. So he went forth from it in fear, watching *in fear of pursuer, or for the aid of God.* He said, O my Lord, deliver me from the unjust people *of Pharaoh!*‡ (Chap. xxviii. vv. 13—20.)

¶ 4. And when he was journeying towards Medyen, *which was the city of Sho'eyb, eight days' journey from Misr, named after Medyen the son of Abraham, and he knew not the way unto it,* he said, Peradventure my Lord will direct me unto the right way, *or the middle way. And God sent unto him an angel, having in his hand a short spear; and he went with him thither.*§ And

* Some suppose these words to have been spoken by the Israelite, who, because Moses had reprimanded him, imagined he was going to strike him; and others, by the Egyptian, who either knew or suspected that Moses had killed his countryman the day before." (Sale.)

† "This person, says the tradition, was an Egyptian, and Pharaoh's uncle's son." (*Idem.*)

‡ "The Jews pretend he was actually imprisoned for the fact, and condemned to be beheaded; but that, when he should have suffered, his neck became as hard as ivory, and the sword rebounded on the executioner." (*Idem*, in a note to chap. xx.)

§ According to El-Beyḍáwee, as stated by Sale, "Moses knew not the way, and, coming to a place where three roads met, committed himself to the guidance of God, and took the middle road, which was the right; Providence likewise so ordering it, that his pursuers took the other two roads, and missed him."

when he came unto the water (*or well*) of Medyen, he found at it a company of men, watering *their animals;* and he found, besides them two women, keeping away *their sheep from the water.* He said *unto them, (namely, the two women)* What is the matter with you, *that ye water not?* They answered, We shall not water until the pastors shall have driven away *their animals;* and our father is a very old man, *who cannot water the sheep.* And he watered for them *from another well, near unto them, from which he lifted a stone that none could lift but ten persons.* Then he retired to the shade *of an Egyptian thorn-tree, on account of the violence of the heat of the sun; and he was hungry,* and he said, O my Lord, verily I am in need of the good *provision* which Thou shalt send down unto me. *And the two women returned unto their father in less time than they were accustomed to do: so he asked them the reason thereof; and they informed him of the person who had watered for them; whereupon he said unto one of them, Call him unto me.* (Chap. xxviii. vv. 21—24.)

¶ 5. And one of them* came unto him, walking bashfully, *with the sleeve of her shift over her face, by reason of her abashment at him:* she said, My father calleth thee, that he may recompense thee with the reward of thy having watered for us. *And he assented to her call, disliking in his mind the receiving of the reward: but it seemeth that she intended the compensation if he were of such as desired it. And she walked before him; and the wind blew her garment, and her legs were discovered: so he said unto her, Walk behind me, and*

* "This was Ṣafoora, [also called Ṣafoorah, and Ṣafooriya,] (or Zipporah,) the elder, or, as others suppose, the younger daughter of Sho'eyb, whom Moses afterwards married." (Sale.)

direct me in the way. And she did so, until she came unto her father, who was Sho'eyb, on whom be peace! and with him was [*prepared*] *a supper. He said unto him, Sit, and sup. But he replied, I fear lest it be a compensation for my having watered for them, and we are a family who seek not a compensation for doing good. He said, Nay, it is my custom, and hath been the custom of my fathers, to entertain the guest, and to give food. So he ate; and acquainted him with his case.* And when he had come unto him, and had related to him the story *of his having killed the Egyptian, and their intention to kill him, and his fear of Pharaoh,* he replied, Fear not: thou hast escaped from the unjust people. (*For Pharaoh had no dominion over Medyen.*) One of them [*namely, of the women*] said, (*and she was the one who had been sent,*) O my father, hire him *to tend our sheep in our stead;* for the best whom thou canst hire is the strong, the trustworthy. *So he asked her respecting him, and she acquainted him with what hath been above related, his lifting up the stone of the well, and his saying unto her, Walk behind me;—and moreover, that when she had come unto him, and he knew of her presence, he hung down his head, and raised it not.* He *therefore* said, Verily I desire to marry thee unto one of these my two daughters, on the condition that thou shalt be hired servant to me, *to tend my sheep,* eight years; and if thou fulfil ten *years,* it shall be of thine own will; and I desire not to lay a difficulty upon thee *by imposing as a condition the ten years:* thou shalt find me, if God please, [*one*] of the just, *who are faithful to their covenants.* He replied, This [*be the covenant*] between me and thee: whichever of the two terms I fulfil, there shall be no injustice against me *by demanding an addi-*

tion thereto; and God is witness of what we say. *And the marriage-contract was concluded according to this; and Sho'eyb ordered his daughter to give unto Moses a rod wherewith to drive away the wild beasts from his sheep: and the rods of the prophets were in his possession; and the rod of Adam, of the myrtle of paradise, fell into her hand; and Moses took it, with the knowledge of Sho'eyb.* (Chap. xxviii. vv. 25—28.)

¶ 6. Hath the history of Moses been related to thee,* when he saw fire,† *during his journey from Medyen, on his way to Egypt,* and said unto his family, *or his wife,* Tarry ye *here;* for I have seen fire: perhaps I may bring you a brand from it, or find at the fire a guide *to direct me in the way? For he had missed the way, in consequence of the darkness of the night.* And when he came unto it (*and it was a bramble-bush*), he was called to [*by a voice saying*], O Moses, verily I am thy Lord; therefore pull off thy shoes;‡ for thou art in the holy valley of Ṭuwa. And I have chosen thee *from among thy people;* wherefore hearken attentively

* "The relation of the story of Moses, which takes up the greatest part of this chapter, [the twentieth,] was designed to encourage Moḥammad, by his example, to discharge the prophetic office with firmness of mind, as being assured of receiving the like assistance from God: for it is said this chapter was one of the first that were revealed."[1] (Sale.)

† "The commentators say, that Moses, having obtained leave of Sho'eyb, or Jethro, his father-in-law, to visit his mother, departed with his family from Midian towards Egypt; but coming to the valley of Ṭuwa, wherein mount Sinai stands, his wife fell in labour, and was delivered of a son, in a very dark and snowy night: he had also lost his way, and his cattle were scattered from him, when on a sudden he saw a fire by the side of a mountain, which on his nearer approach he found burning in a green bush."[2] (*Idem.*)

‡ "This was a mark of humility and respect: though some fancy there was some uncleanness in the shoes themselves, because they were made of the skin of an ass not dressed."[3] (*Idem.*)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

unto that which is revealed *unto thee by me.* Verily I am God: there is no Deity except Me; therefore worship Me, and perform prayer in remembrance of Me. Verily the hour is coming: I will manifest it *unto mankind, and its nearness shall appear unto them by its signs,* that every soul may be recompensed *therein* for its *good and evil* work: therefore let not him who believeth not in it, and followeth his lust, hinder thee from *believing in* it, lest thou perish. And what is that in thy right hand, O Moses?—He answered, It is my rod, whereon I lean, and wherewith I beat down leaves for my sheep, *that they may eat them;* and I have other uses for it, *as the carrying of provision and the water skin, and the driving away of reptiles.* He said, Cast it down, O Moses. So he cast it down; and lo, it was a serpent,* running along. *God* said, Take it, and fear *it* not:† we will restore it to its former state. *And he put his hand into its mouth; whereupon it became again a rod.* [*And God said*], And put thy *right* hand to thy *left* arm-pit, *and take it forth:* it shall come forth white, without evil (*that is, without leprosy; shining like the rays of the sun, dazzling the sight*), as another sign, that we may show thee the greatest of our signs *of thine apostleship.* (*And when he desired to restore his hand to its first state, he put it as before described, and drew it forth.*) Go *as an apostle* unto Pharoah *and those who are with him;* for he hath acted with exceeding impiety, *by arrogating*

* "Which was at first no bigger than the rod, but afterwards swelled to a prodigious size."[1] (Sale.)

† "When Moses saw the serpent move about with great nimbleness, and swallow stones and trees, he was greatly terrified, and fled from it; but recovering his courage at these words of God, he had the boldness to take the serpent by the jaws."[2] (*Idem.*)

[1] El-Beydáwee. [2] *Idem.*

to himself divinity.—Moses said, O my Lord, dilate my bosom, *that it may bear the message,* and make my affair easy unto me, and loose the knot of my tongue (*this had arisen from his having been burned in his mouth by a live coal, when he was a child**), that they may understand my speech *when I deliver the message.* And appoint unto me a Wezeer, of my family; *namely,* Aaron† my brother. Strengthen my back by him, and make him a colleague in my affair, that we may glorify Thee much, and remember Thee much; for Thou knowest us. (Chap. xx. vv. 8—35.)

¶ 7. *God* replied, Thou hast obtained thy petition, O Moses: and we have been gracious unto thee another time; forasmuch as we revealed unto thy mother what was revealed, *when she gave birth to thee, and feared that Pharaoh would kill thee among the others that were born,* [*saying,*] Cast him into the ark, and then cast him, *in the ark,* into the river *Nile,* and the river shall throw him on the shore: then an enemy unto me, and an enemy unto him, (*namely, Pharaoh,*) shall take him. And I bestowed on thee, *after he had taken thee,* love from me, *that thou mightest be loved by men, so that Pharaoh and all that saw thee loved thee;* and that thou mightest be bred up in mine eye. [*Also*] forasmuch as

* "Moses had an impediment in his speech, which was occasioned by the following accident. Pharaoh one day carrying him in his arms, when a child, he suddenly laid hold of his beard, and plucked it in a very rough manner, which put Pharoah into such a passion, that he ordered him to be put to death: but A'siyeh, his wife, representing to him that he was but a child, who could not distinguish between a burning coal and a ruby, he ordered the experiment to be made; and a live coal and a ruby being set before Moses, he took the coal and put it into his mouth, and burnt his tongue: and thereupon he was pardoned.—This is a Jewish story a little altered."[1] (Sale.)

† Called in the Arabic "Hároon."

[1] *Vide* Shalsh. hakkab. p. 11.

thy sister *Maryam* went *that she might learn what became of thee, after they had brought nurses, and thou hadst refused to take the breast of any one of them,* and she said, Shall I direct you unto one who will nurse him?—(*whereupon her proposal was accepted, and she brought his mother*): so we restored thee to thy mother, that her eye might become cheerful, and that she might not grieve. And thou slewest a soul, *namely the Copt, in Egypt, and wast sorry for his slaughter, on account of Pharaoh,* and we delivered thee from sorrow; and we tried thee with *other* trial, *and delivered thee from it.** And thou staydest *ten* years among the people of Medyen, *after thou hadst come thither from Egypt, at the abode of Sho'eyb the prophet, and he married thee to his daughter.* Then thou camest according to *my* decree, *as to the time of thy mission, when thou hadst attained the age of forty years,* O Moses; and I have chosen thee for Myself. Go thou and thy brother† *unto the people,* with my *nine* signs, and cease ye not to remember me. Go ye unto Pharaoh; for he hath acted with exceeding impiety, *by arrogating to himself divinity,* and speak unto him with gentle speech, *exhorting him to relinquish that conduct:* peradventure he will consider, or will fear *God, and repent.* (*The* [*mere*] *hope with respect to the two* [*results is expressed*] *because of God's knowledge that he would not repent.*)—They replied, O our Lord, verily we fear that he may be precipitately violent against us,

* "For he was obliged to abandon his country and his friends, and to travel several days, in great terror and want of necessary provisions, to seek a refuge among strangers; and was afterwards forced to serve for hire, to gain a livelihood." (Sale.)

† "Aaron being by this time come out to meet his brother, either by divine inspiration, or having notice of his design to return to Egypt."[1] (*Idem.*)

[1] El-Beydáwee.

hastening to punish us, or that he may act with exceeding injustice *towards us.* He said, Fear ye not; for I am with you: I will hear and will see. Therefore go ye unto him, and say, Verily we are the apostles of thy Lord: therefore send with us the children of Israel *unto Syria,* and do not afflict them, *but cease to employ them in thy difficult works, such as digging and building, and carrying the heavy burden.* We have come unto thee with a sign from thy Lord, *attesting our veracity in asserting ourselves apostles:* and peace be on him who followeth the right direction:—*that is, he shall be secure from punishment.* Verily it hath been revealed unto us that punishment [*shall be inflicted*] upon him who chargeth with falsehood *that wherewith we have come,* and turneth away *from it.* (Chap. xx. vv. 36—50.)

¶ 8. Then we sent after them, *namely, the apostles before mentioned,* [*who were Sho'eyb and his predecessors,*] Moses, with our signs unto Pharaoh and his nobles, and they acted unjustly with respect to them, *disbelieving in the signs:* but see what was the end of the corrupt doers. And Moses said, O Pharaoh, verily I am an apostle from the Lord of the worlds *unto thee. But he charged him with falsehood: so he said, I am* right not to say of God aught but the truth. I have come unto you with a proof from your Lord: therefore send with me, *to Syria,* the children of Israel.—*Pharaoh* said *unto him,* If thou have come with a sign *confirmatory of thy pretension,* produce it, if thou be of those who speak truth. So he cast down his rod; and lo, it was a manifest serpent.* And he drew forth his hand

* "The Arab writers tell enormous fables of this serpent or dragon. For they say that he was hairy, and of so prodigious a size, that when he opened his mouth, his jaws were fourscore cubits asunder, and when he laid his lower jaw on the ground, his upper reached to the top of the palace [or rather, I believe, the

from his bosom; and lo, it was white *and radiant* unto the beholders.* The nobles of the people of Pharaoh said, Verily this is a knowing enchanter: he desireth to expel you from your land. What then do ye command?—They answered, Put off for a time him and his brother, and send unto the cities collectors [*of the inhabitants*], that they may bring unto thee every knowing enchanter. And the enchanters came unto Pharaoh.† They said, Shall we surely have a reward if we be the party who overcome? He answered, Yea; and verily ye shall be of those who are admitted near [*unto my person*]. They said, O Moses, either do thou cast down *thy rod,* or we will cast down *what we have with us.* He replied, cast ye. And when they cast down *their cords and their rods,* they enchanted the eyes of the men, *diverting them from the true perception of them;* and they terrified them; *for they imagined them to be serpents running;* and they performed a great

throne of Pharaoh]: that Pharaoh, seeing this monster make towards him, fled from it; and that the whole assembly also betaking themselves to their heels, no less than twenty-five thousand of them lost their lives in the press. They add that Pharaoh upon this adjured Moses by God who had sent him, to take away the serpent, and promised he would believe on him, and let the Israelites go; but when Moses had done what he requested, he relapsed, and grew as hardened as before."[1] (Sale.)

* "There is a tradition that Moses was a very swarthy man; and that when he put his hand into his bosom, and drew it out again, it became extremely white and splendid, surpassing the brightness of the sun.* Marracci[3] says we do not read in Scripture that Moses showed this sign before Pharaoh. It is true, the Scripture does not expressly say so, but it seems to be no more than a necessary inference from that passage where God tells Moses that if they will not hearken to the first sign, they will believe the latter sign, and if they will not believe these two signs, then directs him to turn the water into blood."[4] (*Idem.*)

† "The Arabian writers name several of these magicians,..each of whom came attended with their disciples, amounting in all to several thousands."[5] (*Idem.*)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee. [2] *Idem.* [3] In Alc. p. 284. [4] Exod. iv. 8, 9.
[5] *Vide* D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. art. Mousa, p. 643, &c.; and El-Kisáee.

enchantment.* And we spake by revelation unto Moses, [*saying*,] Cast down thy rod. And lo, it swallowed up what they had caused to appear changed.† So the truth was confirmed, and that which they had wrought became vain; and they were overcome there, and were rendered contemptible. And the enchanters cast themselves down prostrate:‡ they said, We believe in the Lord of the worlds, the Lord of Moses and Aaron. Pharaoh said, Have ye believed in Him before I have given you permission? Verily this is a plot that ye have contrived in the city, that ye may cause its inhabitants to go forth from it. But ye shall know *what shall happen unto you at my hand.* I will assuredly cut off your hands and your feet on the opposite sides, *the right hand of each, and his left foot:* then I will crucify you all.—They replied, Verily unto our Lord shall we return, *after our death of whatever kind it be;* and thou dost not take vengeance on us but because we

* "They provided themselves with a great number of thick ropes and long pieces of wood, which they contrived, by some means, to move, and make them twist themselves one over the other; and so imposed on the beholders, who at a distance took them to be true serpents."[1] (*Idem.*) It is also said, that "they rubbed them over with quicksilver, which, being wrought upon by the heat of the sun, caused them to move."[2] (*Idem*, in a note to chap. xx.)

† "The expositors add, that when this serpent had swallowed up all the rods and cords, he made directly towards the assembly, and put them into so great a terror, that they fled, and a considerable number were killed in the crowd: then Moses took it up, and it became a rod in his hand as before. Whereupon the magicians declared that it could be no enchantment, because in such case their rods and cords would not have disappeared."[3] (*Idem.*)

‡ Sale observes, that some writers introduce only two of the enchanters[4] as acknowledging Moses' miracle to be wrought by the power of God. "These two, they say, were brothers, and the sons of a famous magician, then dead; but on their being sent for to court on this occasion, their mother persuaded them to go

[to

1 El-Beydáwee. *Vide* D'Herbelot, *ubi supra.* 2 El-Beydáwee. 3 *Idem.*
4 By Sale, they are called, Sadûr and Ghadûr; but D'Herbelot, whom he copies, Sabour and Gadour.

believed in the signs of our Lord when they came unto us. O our Lord, pour upon us patience, and cause us to die Muslims!* (Chap. vii. vv. 101—123.)

¶ 9. And Pharaoh said, Let me alone, that I may kill Moses (*for they had diverted him from killing him*), and let him call upon his Lord *to defend him from me.* Verily I fear lest he change your religion, *and prevent your worshipping me,* or that he may cause corruption to appear in the earth (*that is, slaughter, and other offences.*) —And Moses said *unto his people, having heard this,* Verily I have recourse for defence unto my Lord and your Lord from every proud person who believeth not in the day of account. And a man [*who was*] a believer, of the family of Pharaoh, (*it is said that he was the son of his paternal uncle,*†) who concealed his faith, said, Will ye kill a man because he saith, My Lord is God,—when he hath come unto you with evident proofs from your Lord? And if he be a liar, on him [*will be*] *the evil consequence of* his lie; but if he be a speaker of truth, somewhat of that *punishment with*

to their father's tomb, and ask his advice. Being come to the tomb, the father answered their call, and when they had acquainted him with the affair, he told them, that they should inform themselves whether the rod of which they spoke became a serpent while its masters slept, or only when they were awake; for, said he, enchantments have no effect while the enchanter is asleep, and therefore if it be otherwise in this case, you may be assured that they act by a divine power. These two magicians then, arriving at the capital of Egypt, on inquiry found, to their great astonishment, that when Moses and Aaron went to rest, their rod became a serpent, and guarded them while they slept.[1] And this was the first step towards their conversion." (Sale.)

* "Some think these converted magicians were executed accordingly: but others deny it, and say that the king was not able to put them to death; insisting on these words of the Ḳur-án,[2] 'ye two, and they who follow you, shall overcome.'" (*Idem.*)

† Mentioned above, in ¶ 3.

[1] *Vide* D'Herbelot, *ubi supra.* [2] Chap. xxviii. v. 35.

which he threateneth you will befal you *speedily*. Verily God directeth not him who is a transgressor, *or polytheist,* [*and*] a liar. O my people, ye have the dominion to-day, being overcomers in the land *of Egypt;* but who will defend us from the punishment of God *if ye kill his favourite servants,* if it come unto us?* —Pharaoh said, I will not advise you to do [*aught*] save what I see to be advisable, *which is, to kill Moses;* and I will not direct you save into the right way. And he who had believed said, O my people, verily I fear for you the like of the day of the confederates,† the like of the condition of the people of Noah, and 'A'd, and Thamood, and those who [*have lived*] after them: and God willeth not injustice unto [*his*] servants. And, O my people, verily I fear for you the day of calling (*that is, the day of resurrection, when the people of Paradise and those of Hell shall often call one to another.*) On the day when ye shall turn back *from the place of reckoning unto hell,* ye shall have no protector against God. And he whom God shall cause to err shall have no director. Moreover, Joseph (*who was Joseph the son of Jacob according to one opinion, and who lived unto the time of Moses; and Joseph, the son of Abraham, the son of Joseph, the son of Jacob, according to another opinion*) came unto you before *Moses,* with evident *miraculous* proofs; but ye ceased not to be in doubt respecting that with which he came unto you, until, when he died, ye said, *without proof,* God will by no means send an apostle after him. Thus God causeth to err him who

* "See the speech of Gamaliel to the Jewish Sanhedrim, when the apostles were brought before them. Acts, v. 38, 39. (Sale.)

† "The people of Noah and of 'A'd and of Thamood, and those whom God destroyed after them." So explained in the Ḳámoos.

is a transgressor, *or polytheist,* [*and*] a sceptic. They who dispute respecting the signs of God, without any convincing proof having come unto them, *their disputing* is very hateful with God and with those who have believed. Thus God sealeth every heart (*or the whole heart*) of a proud, contumacious person. (Chap. xl. vv. 27—37.)

¶ 10. And Pharaoh said, O Hámán, build for me a tower, that I may reach the avenues, the avenues of the heavens, and ascend unto the God of Moses;* but verily I think him, *namely, Moses,* a liar *in his assertion that he hath any god but myself.* And thus the wickedness of his deed was made to seem comely unto Pharaoh, and he was turned away from the path *of rectitude;* and the artifice of Pharoah [*ended*] not save in loss. And he who had believed said, O my people, follow me: I will direct you into the right way. O my people, this present life is only a temporary enjoyment; but the world to come is the mansion of firm continuance. Whosoever doth evil, he shall not be recompensed save with the like of it; and whosoever doth good, whether male or female, and is a believer, these shall enter Paradise; they shall be provided for therein without reckoning. And, O my people, how is it that I invite you unto salvation; and ye invite me unto the

* It is said that Hámán, having prepared bricks and other materials, employed no less than fifty thousand men, besides labourers, in the building, which they carried to so immense a height that the workmen could no longer stand on it: that Pharaoh, ascending this tower, threw a javelin towards heaven, which fell back again stained with blood, whereupon he impiously boasted that he had killed the God of Moses; but at sunset, God sent the angel Gabriel, who with one stroke of his wing demolished the tower, a part whereof, falling on the king's army, destroyed a million of men."[1] (Sale, in a note to chap. xxviii.)

[1] Ez-Zamakhsher'ee.

fire? Ye invite me to deny God, and to associate with Him that of which I have no knowledge; but I invite you unto the Mighty, the Very forgiving. [*There is*] no doubt but that the [*false gods*] to *the worship of* which ye invite me are not to be invoked in this world or in the world to come, and that our return [*shall be*] unto God, and that the transgressors [*shall be*] the companions of the fire. And ye shall remember, *when ye see the punishment,* what I say unto you; and I commit my case unto God; for God seeth [*his*] servants.—*This he said when they threatened him for his opposing their religion.* Therefore God preserved him from the evils which they had artfully devised (*namely slaughter*), and a most evil punishment encompassed the people of Pharaoh,* *with Pharaoh himself; (namely, the drowning;) then* they shall be exposed to the fire morning and evening;† and on the day when the hour [*of judgment*] shall come, *it shall be said unto the angels,* Introduce the people of Pharaoh into the most severe punishment. (Chap. xl. vv. 38—49.)

¶ 11. And the nobles of the people of Pharaoh said *unto him,* Wilt thou let Moses and his people go that they may act corruptly in the earth, *by inviting to disobey thee,* and leave thee and thy gods? (*For he had*

* "Some are of opinion that those who were sent by Pharaoh to seize the true believer, his kinsman, are the persons more particularly meant in this place: for they tell us, that the said believer fled to a mountain, where they found him at prayers, guarded by the wild beasts, which ranged themselves in order about him; and that his pursuers thereupon returned in a great fright to their master, who put them to death for not performing his command."[1] (Sale.)

† "Some expound these words of the previous punishment they are doomed to suffer, according to a tradition of Ibn-Mes'ood, which informs us, that their souls are in the crops of black birds, which are exposed to hell-fire every morning and evening until the Day of Judgment."[2] (*Idem.*)

[1] El-Beydáwee. [2] *Idem.*

made for them little idols, for them to worship, and he said, I am your Lord and their Lord;—and therefore he said, I am your Lord the most high.) He answered, We will slaughter their male children, and will suffer their females to live: and verily we shall prevail over them.* *And thus they did unto them; wherefore the children of Israel complained, and* Moses said unto his people, Seek aid of God, and be patient; for the earth belongeth unto God: He causeth whomsoever He will of His servants to inherit it; and the *prosperous* end is for those who fear *God.* They replied, We have been afflicted before thou camest unto us, and since thou hast come unto us. He said, Perhaps your Lord will destroy your enemy, and cause you to succeed [*him*] in the earth, and He will see how ye will act *therein.*— And we had punished the family of Pharaoh with dearth, and with scarcity of fruits, that they might be admonished, *and might believe.* But when good betided them, they said, This is ours:—*that is, we deserve it;*— *and they were not grateful for it;* and if evil befel them, they ascribed it to the ill luck of Moses and those *believers* who were with him. Nay, their ill luck was only with God: *He brought it upon them:* but the greater number of them know not *this.* And they said *unto Moses,* Whatsoever sign thou bring unto us, to enchant us therewith, we will not believe in thee. *So he uttered an imprecation upon them,* and we sent upon them the flood, *which entered their houses and reached to the throats of the persons sitting, seven days,*† and the

* "That is, we will continue to make use of the same cruel policy to keep the Israelites in subjection, as we have hitherto done." (Sale.)

† "As there is no mention of any such miraculous inundation in the Mosaic writings, some have imagined this plague to have been either a pestilence, or the

locusts, *which ate their corn and their fruits,* and the ḳummal,* *or grubs, or a kind of tick, which sought after what the locusts had left,* and the frogs, *which filled their houses and their food,* and the blood *in their waters;* distinct signs: but they were proud, *refusing to believe in them,* and were a wicked people. And when the punishment† fell upon them, they said, O Moses, supplicate for us thy Lord, according to that which He hath covenanted with thee, *namely, that He will withdraw from us the punishment if we believe:* verily, if thou remove from us the punishment, we will assuredly believe thee, and we will assuredly send with thee the children of Israel. But when we removed from them the punishment until a period at which they should arrive, lo, they broke their promise. Wherefore we took vengeance on them, and drowned them in the sea, because they charged our signs with falsehood, and were heedless of them. And we caused the people who had been rendered weak, *by being enslaved,* to inherit the eastern parts of the earth, and its western parts,‡ which we blessed *with water and trees, (namely, Syria);* and the gracious word of thy Lord was fulfilled on the children of Israel, because they had been patient; and

small pox, or some other epidemical distemper.[1] For the word 'ṭoofán,' which is used in this place, and is generally rendered 'a deluge,' may also signify any other universal destruction or mortality." (Sale.)

* Sale renders this word "lice," and observes, in a note, "Some will have these insects to have been a larger sort of tick; others, the young locusts before they had wings."[2]

† "Namely, any of the calamities already mentioned, or the pestilence which God sent upon them afterwards." (Sale.)

‡ "That is, the land of Syria, of which the eastern geographers reckon Palestine a part, and wherein the commentators say the children of Israel succeeded the kings of Egypt and the Amalekites."[3] (*Idem.*)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

we destroyed the *structures* which Pharaoh and his people had built, and what they had erected.* (Chap. vii. vv. 124—133.)

¶ 12. We brought the children of Israel across the sea, and Pharaoh and his troops pursued them with violence and hostility, until, when drowning overtook him, he said, I believe that there is no deity but He in whom the children of Israel believe, and I am [*one*] of the Muslims. *But Gabriel thrust into his mouth some of the mire of the sea, lest mercy should be granted him, and said,* Now *thou believest,* and thou hast been rebellious hitherto, and wast [*one*] of the corrupters. But to-day we will raise thee with thy lifeless body *from the sea,* that thou mayest be a sign unto those [*who shall come*] after thee. (*It is related, on the authority of Ibn-'Abbás, that some of the children of Israel doubted his death; wherefore he was brought forth to them that they might see him.*†) But verily many men are heedless of our signs. (Chap. x. vv. 90—92.)

¶ 13. And we brought the children of Israel across the sea; and they came unto a people who gave themselves up to *the worship of* idols belonging to them;‡ [*whereupon*] they said, O Moses, make for us a god (*an idol for us to worship*), like as they have gods. He

* "Particularly the lofty tower [before mentioned,] which Pharaoh caused to be built, that he might attack the God of Moses." (Sale.)

† "The word here translated 'body' signifying also a 'coat of mail,' some imagine the meaning to be, that his corpse floated armed with his coat of mail, which they tell us was of gold, by which they knew that it was he." (*Idem.*)

‡ "These people some will have to be of the tribe of Amalek, whom Moses was commanded to destroy, and others of the tribe of Lakhm. Their idols, it is said, were images of oxen, which gave the first hint to the making of the golden calf."[1] (*Idem.*)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee.

replied, Verily ye are a people who are ignorant, *since ye have requited God's favour towards you with that which ye have said;* for that [*religion*] in which these are [*occupied shall be*] destroyed, and vain is that which they do. He said, Shall I seek for you any other deity than God, when He hath preferred you above the peoples *of your time?* (Chap. vii. vv. 134—136.)

¶ 14. And we caused the thin clouds to shade you *from the heat of the sun in the desert,* and caused the manna and the quails* to descend upon you, *and said,* Eat of the good things which we have given you for food, *and store not up.—But they were ungrateful for the benefit, and stored up; wherefore it was cut off from them.* And they injured not us *thereby;* but they did injure their own souls. (Chap. ii. v. 54.)

¶ 15. [*Remember, O children of Israel,*] when ye said, O Moses, we will not bear patiently the having one *kind of* food, *the manna and the quails;* therefore supplicate for us thy Lord, that He may produce for us *somewhat* of that which the earth bringeth forth, of its herbs and its encumbers and its wheat and its lentils and its onions:—he said *unto them,* Will ye take in exchange that which is worse for that which is better? —*But they refused to recede; therefore he supplicated God, and He said,* Get ye down into a great city;† for

* "The eastern writers say, these quails were of a peculiar kind, to be found no where but in El-Yemen, from whence they were brought by a south wind in great numbers to the Israelites' camp in the desert.[1] The Arabs call these birds 'selwa,' which is plainly the same with the Hebrew 'salwim,' and say they have no bones, but are eaten whole."[2]—(Sale.)

† The word here rendered "a great city," namely "miṣran," is rendered by Marracci and Sale "Egypt," and is so understood by many learned Arabs; but according to a general rule, to have this signification, it should be "miṣra:" in some copies of the Ḳur-ân, however, it *is* thus written.

[1] See Psalm lxxviii. 26. [2] *Vide* D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 477.

ye shall have *therein* what ye have asked.—And *the marks of* abjection and poverty were stamped upon them: *so these characteristics necessarily belong to them, even if they are rich, as necessarily as the stamped coin belongeth to its die;* and they returned with indignation from God. This was because they did disbelieve in the signs of God, and slay the prophets (*as Zechariah and John*) unjustly: this was because they rebelled, and did transgress. (Chap. ii. v. 58.)

¶ 16. And *remember* when Moses asked drink for his people, *who had become thirsty in the desert,* and we said, Strike with thy rod the stone. (*It was the stone that fled away with his garment:* it was light, square, like the head of a man, marble or kedhdhán.*†) *Accordingly he struck it:* and there gushed out from it twelve fountains, *according to the number of the tribes:* all men (*each tribe of them*) knowing their drinking-place. *And we said unto them,* Eat ye and drink of the supply of God, and commit not evil in the earth, acting corruptly. (Chap. ii. v. 57.)

¶ 17, *Remember* also when we obtained your bond *that ye would do according to that which is contained in the Law,* and *had* lifted up over you the mountain [*namely, Mount Sinai*], *pulled it up by the roots, and raised it over you, when ye had refused to accept the Law,*‡ *and we said,* Receive that which we have given

* For the explanation of this occurrence, the reader must be referred to a note by Sale, on this verse. It is sufficient to mention here, that the Israelites were by it "convinced of the falsehood of a report which had been raised of their prophet."

† A kind of soft stone, like dry mud.

‡ The same is related in the Talmud.—"And they stood at the nether part of the mountain (or beneath the mountain). (Exod. xix. 17.) R. Avdimi, the son of Chama, the son of Chasa, says, These words teach us that the Holy One, blessed be He, turned the mountain over them like a tub, and said to them, If ye will

you, with resolution, and remember that which is contained in it, *to do according thereto*: peradventure ye will fear *the fire, or acts of disobedience.*—Then ye turned back after that; and had it not been for the grace of God towards you, and his mercy, ye had certainly been of those who perish. And ye know those who transgressed, of you, on the Sabbath, *by catching fish, when we had forbidden them to do so, (and they were the people of Eyleh,*)* and we said unto them, Be ye apes, driven away from the society of men.—*Thereupon they became such, and they perished after three days.*—And we made it (*namely that punishment*) an example unto those who were contemporary with them, and those who came after them, and a warning to the pious. (Chap. ii. vv. 60—62.)

receive the Law, well; but if not, there shall be your grave. R. Acha, the son of R. Jacob, says, This is a great confession for the Law." (Shabbath, fol. 88, 1: quoted by Dr. McCaul, in his "Old Paths," p. 73.)

* The story here alluded to, though it occurs amid passages respecting Moses and his people, is said to relate to a different age, and to be as follows.—"In the days of David, some Israelites dwelt at Eyleh, or Elath, on the Red Sea, where, on the night of the Sabbath, the fish used to come in great numbers to the shore, and stay there all the Sabbath, to tempt them; but the night following, they returned into the sea again. At length, some of the inhabitants, neglecting God's commandment, catched fish on the Sabbath, and dressed and ate them; and afterwards cut canals from the sea, for the fish to enter, with sluices, which they shut on the Sabbath, to prevent their return to the sea. The other part of the inhabitants, who strictly observed the Sabbath, used both persuasion and force, to stop this impiety, but to no purpose, the offenders growing only more and more obstinate; whereupon David cursed the sabbath-breakers, and God transformed them into apes. It is said, that one going to see a friend of his that was among them, found him in the shape of an ape, moving his eyes about wildly; and asking him whether he was not such a one, the ape made a sign with his head, that it was he; whereupon the friend said to him, Did not I advise you to desist? at which the ape wept. They add, that these unhappy people remained three days in this condition, and were afterwards destroyed by a wind which swept them all into the sea."[1] (Sale.)

[1] Abu-l-Fida.

¶ 18. And we appointed unto Moses thirty nights, *at the expiration of which we would speak to him, on the condition of his fasting during them; and they were* [*the nights of the month of*] *Dhu-l-Ḳaadeh; and he fasted during them; but when they were ended, he disliked the smell of his breath; so he used a tooth-stick; whereupon God commanded him to fast ten other nights, that He might speak to Him with the odour of his breath,* as He whose name be exalted hath said,*—and we completed them by [*adding*] ten *nights of Dhu-l-Ḥeggeh:* so the stated time of his Lord was completed, forty nights. And Moses said unto his brother Aaron, *at his departure to the mountain for the private collocution,* Be thou my deputy among my people, and act rightly, and follow not the way of the corrupt doers *by agreeing with them in acts of disobedience.* And when Moses came at our appointed time, and his Lord spake unto him *without an interpediary,* he said, O my Lord, show me *Thyself,* that I may see thee. He replied, Thou shalt not see Me: but look at the mountain, *which is stronger than thou;* and if it remain firm in its place, then shalt thou see Me. And when his Lord displayed himself to the mountain (*that is, when there appeared, of his light, half of the tip of his little finger, as related in a tradition which El-Ḥákim hath verified*), He reduced it to powder, *levelling it even with the ground around it;* and Moses fell down in a swoon. And when he recovered, he said, Extolled be thy perfection! I turn unto thee repenting, and I am the first of the believers *in my time.*—*God* said *unto him,* O Moses, I have chosen thee above the

* "His breath before [he used the tooth-stick] had the odour of musk."[1] (Sale.)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee.

people *of thy time* [*by honouring thee*] by my commissions and by my speaking *unto thee:* therefore receive what I have given thee, and be of those who are grateful. And we wrote for him upon the tables *of the Law** (*which were of the lote-tree of Paradise, or of chrysolite, or of emerald; in number seven, or ten*) an admonition concerning every *requisite* matter *of religion,* and a distinct explanation of everything;† *and said,* Therefore receive it with resolution, and command thy people to act according to the most excellent [*precepts*] thereof. (Chap. vii. vv. 138—142.)

¶ 19. And the people of Moses, after it, (*that is, after his departure for the private collocution,*) made, of their ornaments (*which they had borrowed of the people of Pharaoh*), a corporeal calf,‡ *which Es-Sámiree cast for them,*§ *and* which lowed; *for he had the faculty of doing so in consequence of their having put into its mouth some dust taken from* [*beneath*] *the hoof of the horse of*

* It is said that "not only the ten commandments, but the whole law, was written thereon." (Sale.)

† "That is, a perfect law, comprehending all necessary instructions, as well in regard to religious and moral duties, as the administration of justice." (*Idem.*)

‡ "That is, as some understand it, consisting of flesh and blood; or, as others, being a mere body or mass of metal, without a soul."[1] (*Idem.*)

§ "The person who cast this calf, the Mohammadans say, was (not Aaron, but) Es-Sámiree, one of the principal men among the children of Israel, some of whose descendants, it is pretended, still inhabit an island of that name in the Arabian Gulf.[2] It was made of the rings and bracelets of gold, silver, and other materials, which the Israelites had borrowed of the Egyptians; for Aaron, who commanded in his brother's absence, having ordered Es-Sámiree to collect those ornaments from the people who carried on a wicked commerce with them, and to keep them together till the return of Moses, Es-Sámiree understanding the founder's art, put them altogether into a furnace, to melt them down into one mass, which came out in the form of a calf.[3] One writer says, that all the Israelites adored this calf, except only twelve thousand."[4] (*Idem*, in a note to chap. ii.)

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[1] El-Beydáwee. [2] Geogr. Nubiens. p. 45. [3] See Exod. xxxii. 24.
[4] Abú-l-Fida.

Gabriel; and they took it as a god. Did they not see that it spake not to them, nor directed them in the way? They took it *as a god,* and were offenders. But when they repented, and saw that they had erred, *which was after the return of Moses,* they said, Verily if our Lord do not have mercy upon us and forgive us, we shall assuredly be of those who perish! (Chap. vii. vv. 146—148.)

¶ 20. And Moses returned unto his people* enraged *against them;* exceedingly sorrowful. He said, O my people, did not your Lord promise you a good, *true* promise; *that He would give you the Law?* But did the time *of my absence* seem tedious to you, or did ye desire that indignation from your Lord should befal you, and therefore did ye break your promise to me, *and abstain from coming after me?*—They answered, We did not break our promise to thee of our own authority; but we were made to carry loads of the ornaments of the people *of Pharaoh* (*which the children of Israel had borrowed of them under pretence of* [*requiring them for*] *a wedding, and which remained in their possession*), and we cast them *into the fire, by order of Es-Sámiree.* And in like manner also Es-Sámiree cast *their ornaments which he had, and some of the dust which he had taken from the traces of the hoofs of the horse of Gabriel;* and he produced unto them a corporeal calf, *of flesh and blood,* which lowed, *by reason of the dust, the property of which is to give life to that into which it is put; and he had put it, after he had moulded the calf, into its mouth.* And they (*namely, Es-Sámiree and his*

* "After he had completed his forty days' stay in the mount, and had received the Law."[1] (Sale.)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee.

followers) said, This is your god, and the god of Moses; but he hath forgotten *his lord here, and gone to seek him. God saith,* But did they not see that it returned them not an answer, nor was able to cause them hurt or profit? And Aaron had said unto them, before *the return of Moses,* O my people, ye are only tried by it; and verily your Lord is the Compassionate; therefore follow me, *by worshipping Him,* and obey my command. They replied, We will by no means cease to be devoted to *the worship of* it until Moses return unto us. *Moses* said, *after his return,* O Aaron, what hindered thee, when thou sawest that they had gone astray, from following me? Hast thou then been disobedient to my command, *by remaining among them who worshipped another than God?*—He answered, O son of my mother, seize me not by my beard (*for he had taken hold of his beard with his left hand*), nor by [*the hair of*] my head (*for he had taken hold of his hair with his right hand, in anger*). Verily I feared, lest, *if I followed thee* (*for a company of those who worshipped the calf would inevitably have followed me*), thou shouldst say, Thou hast made a division among the children of Israel, and hast not waited for my sentence. *Moses* said, And what was thy motive *for doing as thou hast,* O Sámiree? He answered, I saw that which they saw not;* therefore I took a handful *of dust* from the foot-marks *of the horse*

* "Or, I knew that which they knew not; *viz.* that the messenger sent to thee from God was a pure spirit, and that his footsteps gave life to whatever they touched; being no other than the angel Gabriel, mounted on the horse of life: and therefore I made use of the dust of his feet to animate the molten calf. It is said, Es-Sámiree knew the angel because he had saved and taken care of him when a child and exposed by his mother for fear of Pharaoh."[1] (Sale.)

[1] El-Beydáwee, and Jelál-ed-Deen.

of the apostle *Gabriel,* and cast it *into the molten calf;* and thus my soul allured me *to take a handful of the dust abovementioned, and to cast it upon that which had no life, that it might have life; and I saw that thy people had demanded of thee that thou wouldst make them a god; so my soul suggested to me that this calf should be their god. Moses* said *unto him,* Then get thee gone *from among us,* and [*the punishment*] for thee during *the period of thy* life [*shall be*], that thou shalt say *unto whomsoever thou shalt see,* Touch *me* not:*—(*so he used to wander about the desert, and when he touched any one, or any one touched him, they both became affected with a burning fever:*) and verily for thee is a threat which thou shalt by no means find to be false. And look at thy god, to *the worship of* which thou hast continued devoted. We will assuredly burn it: then we will assuredly reduce it to powder, and scatter it in the sea. (*And Moses, after he had slaughtered it, did this.*) Your deity is God only, except whom there is no deity. He comprehendeth all things by *his* knowledge.—Thus, *O Mohammad,* do we relate unto thee accounts of what hath happened heretofore; and we have given thee, from us, an admonition; *namely, the Ḳur-án.* (Chap. xx. vv. 88—99.)

¶ 21. And they were made to drink down the calf

* "Hence it is concluded that a tribe of Samaritan Jews, said to inhabit a certain isle [before alluded to,] in the Red Sea, [or Arabian Gulph,] are the descendants of our Sámiree; because it is their peculiar mark of distinction, at this day, to use the same words, *viz.* 'Lá misás,' *i. e.* 'Touch me not,' to those they meet.[1] It is not improbable that this story may owe its rise to the known hatred borne by the Samaritans to the Jews, and their superstitious avoiding to have any commerce with them or any other strangers."[2] (Sale.)

[1] *Vide* Geogr. Nubiens. p. 45. [2] *Vide* Selden, de Diis Syris, Synt. . 4.

into their hearts;* *that is, the love of it mingled with their hearts as drink mingleth;* because of their unbelief. (Chap. ii. v. 87.)

¶ 22. [*Remember, O children of Israel,*] when Moses said unto his people *who worshipped the calf,* O my people, verily ye have injured your own souls by your taking to yourselves the calf *as a god;* therefore turn with repentance unto your Creator *from the worship of it,* and slay one another: *that is, let the innocent among you slay the criminal:*† this will be best for you in the estimation of your Creator. *And He aided you to do that, sending upon you a black cloud, lest one of you should see another and have compassion on him, until there were slain of you about seventy thousand.* And *thereupon* He became propitious towards you, *accepting your repentance;* for He is the Very Propitious, the Merciful. (Chap. ii. v. 51.)

¶ 23. [*Remember also, O children of Israel,*] when ye said, *having gone forth with Moses to beg pardon of God for your worship of the calf, and having heard his words,* O Moses, we will not believe thee until we see God manifestly:—whereupon the vehement sound assailed you, *and ye died,* while ye beheld *what happened to you.* Then we raised you to life after ye had been

* The word here rendered "hearts" often signifies stomachs; and if this be its meaning here, the narrative agrees with the Mosaic account: for Moses "took the calf which they had made, and burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder, and strawed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel to drink of it."[1]

† "In this particular, the narration agrees with that of Moses, who ordered the Levites to slay *every man his brother:*[2] but the Scripture says, *there fell of the people that day about three thousand* (the vulgate says twenty-three thousand) *men;*[3] whereas the commentators of the Ḳur-án make the number of the slain to amount to seventy thousand; and add, that God sent a dark cloud," &c. [as related above.] (Sale.)

[1] Exod. xxxii. 20. [2] *Ibid.* xxxii. 26, 27. [3] *Ibid.* 28.

dead, that peradventure ye might give thanks.* (Chap. ii. vv. 52—53.)

¶ 24. And Moses chose, *from* his people, seventy men, *of those who had not worshipped the calf, by the command of God,* at the time appointed by us *for their coming to ask pardon for their companions' worship of the calf; and he went forth with them;* and when the convulsion (*the violent earthquake*) took them away (*because, saith Ibn-'Abbás, they did not separate themselves from their people when the latter worshipped the calf*†), *Moses* said, O my Lord, if Thou hadst pleased, Thou hadst destroyed them before *my going forth with them, that the children of Israel might have beheld it, and might not suspect me;* and me [*also*]. Wilt Thou destroy us for that which the foolish among us have done? It is nought but Thy trial: Thou wilt cause to err thereby whom Thou pleasest, and Thou wilt rightly direct whom Thou pleasest. Thou art our guardian; and do Thou forgive us, and have mercy upon us; for Thou art the best of those who forgive; and appoint for us in this world what is good, and in the world to come; for unto Thee have we turned with repentance. —*God* replied, I will afflict with my punishment whom I please, and my mercy extendeth over everything *in the world;* and I will appoint it, *in the world to come,*

* "The persons here meant are said to have been seventy men, who were made choice of by Moses, and heard the voice of God talking with him. But not being satisfied with that, they demanded to see God; whereupon they were all struck dead by lightning, and on Moses' intercession restored to life."[1] (Sale.)

"This story seems to be an addition to what Moses says of the seventy elders who went up to the mountain with him, and with Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and saw the God of Israel."[2] (*Idem*, in a note to chap. iv.)

† This is said to be a different account of the occurrence related in the extract immediately preceding.

[1] Isma'eel Ibn-'Alee. [2] Exod. xxiv. 9, 10, 11.

for those who fear, and give the legal alms, and those who believe in our signs, who shall follow the apostle, the illiterate prophet,* *Moḥammad,* whom they shall find written down with them in the Pentateuch and the Gospel, *by his name and his description.* He will command them that which is right, and forbid them that which is evil; and will allow them as lawful the good things *among those forbidden in their law,*† and prohibit them the impure, *as carrion and other things,* and will take off from them their burden, and the yokes that were upon them, *as the slaying of a soul* [*for an atonement*] *in repentance,*‡ *and the cutting off of the mark left by impurity.* And those who shall believe in him and honour him, and assist him, and follow the light which shall be sent down with him, *namely, the Ḳur-án,* these shall be the prosperous. (Chap. vii. vv. 154—156.)

¶ 25. And *remember* when Moses said unto his people, O my people, remember the favour of God towards you, since He hath appointed prophets from among you, and made you princes (*masters of servants and other attendants*), and given you what He hath not given

* See the introduction, § ii. ¶ 5.

† "Such as the eating of fish that have neither fins nor scales, the caul and fat of animals, and camels' flesh, and to work on the Sabbath. These things, say the commentators, being arbitrary institutions in the law of Moses, were abrogated by Jesus; as several of the same kind instituted by the latter have been since abrogated by Moḥammad."[1] (Sale, in a note to chap. iii.)

‡ The accusation so often urged against the Jews, of their slaying a man for an atonement, seems to have arisen from their custom of sacrificing a cock, on the eve of the Day of Atonement: for "'gever' signifies both 'a man' and 'a cock,' and thereby signifies, that a righteous man must be the sinful man's substitute: and so some of the rabbies say, that this animal, 'a cock,' was selected, 'because, as its name signifies *a man*, there is a substitution of a man for man.' (Orach Chaüm, 605.)"[2]

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[1] El-Beyḍáwee; and Jelál-ed-Deen. [2] Dr. Mc Caul's "Old Paths," pp. 112 and 144.

any [*other*] of the peoples (*as the manna and the quails and other things*). O my people, enter the Holy Land which God hath decreed for you (*namely, Syria*), and turn not back, lest ye turn losers.—They replied, O Moses, verily there is in it a gigantic people,* *of the remains of the tribe of 'A'd,*† and we will not enter it until they go forth from it; but if they go forth from it, then we will enter.—[*Thereupon*] two men, of those who feared *to disobey God, namely, Joshua and Caleb, of the chiefs whom Moses sent to discover the circumstances of the giants, and* upon whom God had conferred favour, *and who had concealed what they had seen of the state of the giants, excepting from Moses, wherefore the other chiefs became cowardly,* said *unto them,* Enter ye upon them through the gate *of the city, and fear them not; for they are bodies without hearts;* and when ye enter it, ye overcome; and upon God place your dependence, if ye be believers.—[*But*] they said, O Moses, we will never enter it while they remain therein. Therefore go thou and thy Lord, and fight: for we remain here.—*Then Moses* said, O my Lord, verily I am not master of any but myself and my brother: therefore distinguish between us and the unrighteous people.—*God* replied, Verily it (*namely, the Holy Land*) shall be forbidden them forty years: they shall wander in perplexity in the land: and be not thou solicitous for the unrighteous people.—*The land* [*through which they wandered*] *was*

* "The largest of these giants, the commentators say, was Og the son of Anak, [or rather, 'Ooj Ibn-'Ooḳ, called by many writers 'Ooj Ibn-'Anáḳ, and vulgarly (but incorrectly, according to the Ḳâmoos,) 'Ooj Ibn-'Onuḳ,] concerning whose enormous stature, his escaping the flood, and the manner of his being slain by Moses, the Mohammadans relate several absurd fables."[1] (Sale.)

† See the Introduction, § i. ¶ 12.

[1] *Vide* Marracc. in Alcor. p. 231, &c.; and D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 336.

[only] nine leagues [in extent]. They used to journey during the night with diligence; but in the morning they found themselves in the place whence they had set forth; and they journeyed during the day in like manner. Thus they did until all of them had become extinct, excepting those who had not attained the age of twenty years; and it is said that they were six hundred thousand. Aaron and Moses died in the desert; and mercy was their lot: but punishment was the lot of those. And Moses begged his Lord, when he was about to die, that He would bring him as near as a stone's throw to the Holy Land: wherefore He did so. And Joshua was made a prophet after the forty [years], and he gave orders to fight against the giants. So he went with those who were with him, and fought against them: and it was Friday; and the sun stood still for him a while, until he had made an end of fighting against them. (Chap. v. vv. 23—29.)

¶ 26. Ḳároon* [*or Korah*] was of the people of Moses (*he was the son of his paternal uncle, and the son of his maternal aunt, and he believed in him*); but he behaved insolently towards them; for we had bestowed upon him such treasures that their keys were heavy burdens for a company of men endowed with strength, *in number, as some say, seventy; and some, forty; and some, ten; and some, another number. Remember* when his people (*the believers among the children of Israel*) said unto him, Rejoice not *exultingly in the abundance of thy wealth;* for God loveth not those who *so* rejoice;

* This person is represented by the commentators, as "the most beautiful of the Israelites, and so far surpassing them all in opulence that the riches of Ḳároon have become a proverb. The Moḥammadans are indebted to the Jews for this last circumstance, to which they have added several other fables; for they tell us that he built a large palace overlaid with gold, the doors whereof were of massy gold," &c. (Sale.)

but seek to attain, by means of the *wealth* which God hath given thee, the latter abode [*of paradise*],* *by expending thy wealth in the service of God;* and neglect not thy part in this world, *to work therein for the world to come;* but be beneficent *unto mankind, by bestowing alms,* as God hath been beneficent unto thee; and seek not to act corruptly in the earth; for God loveth not the corrupt doers. He replied, I have only been given it on account of the knowledge that I possess. *For he was the most learned of the children of Israel in the Law, after Moses and Aaron.*† *God saith,* Did he not know that God had destroyed before him, of the generations, those that were mightier than he in strength, and who had amassed more abundance *of wealth?* And the wicked shall not be asked respecting their sins, *because God knoweth them: therefore they shall be sent into the fire without a reckoning.* And *Ḳároon* went forth unto his people in his pomp, *with his many dependents mounted, adorned with garments of gold and silk, upon decked horses and mules.* Those who desired the present life said, Oh, would that we had the like of that which hath been bestowed on Ḳároon *in this world!* Verily he is possessed of great good fortune!—But those unto whom knowledge *of what God hath promised in the world to come* had been given, said *unto them,* Woe to you! The reward of God *in the world to come* (*which is paradise*) is better for him who

* "This passage is parallel to that in the New Testament, 'Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations.'"[1] (Sale.)

† "Others pretend he was skilled in chymistry, or in merchandising, or other arts of gain; and others suppose (as the Jews also fable[2]) that he found out the treasures of Joseph in Egypt."[3] (*Idem.*)

[1] Luke, xvi. 9. [2] *Vide* R. Ghedal. Shalsh. hakkab. p. 13. [3] El-Beyḍáwee.

believeth, and worketh righteousness, *than that which hath been bestowed on Ḳároon in the present world;* and none shall receive it but the patient *in the service of God.* And we caused the earth to cleave asunder and swallow up him and his mansion,* and he had no forces to defend him, in the place of God, nor was he of the [*number of the*] saved. And the next morning, those who had wished for his place the day before said, Aha! God enlargeth provision unto whom He pleaseth of his servants, and is sparing *of it unto whom He pleaseth!* Had not God been gracious unto us, He had caused [*the earth*] to cleave asunder and swallow up us! Aha! the ungrateful *for his benefits* do not prosper! (Chap. xxviii. vv. 76—82.)

¶ 27. *Remember,* [*O children of Israel,*] when Moses said unto his people (*when one of them had been slain, whose murderer was not known, and they asked him to beg God that He would discover him to them, wherefore he supplicated Him*), Verily God commandeth you to sacrifice a cow. They said, Dost thou make a jest of us? He said, I beg God to preserve me from being *one* of the foolish. *So when they knew that he decidedly intended* [*what he had ordered,*] they said, Supplicate for

* Moses, as some say, having complained to God, of a false accusation brought against him by Ḳároon, He directed him "to command the earth what he pleased, and it should obey him; whereupon he said, 'O earth, swallow them up;' and immediately the earth opened under Ḳároon and his confederates, and swallowed them up, with his palace and all his riches.[1]—There goes a tradition, that as Ḳároon sank gradually into the ground, first to his knees, then to his waist, then to his neck, he cried out four several times, 'O Moses, have mercy on me!' but that Moses continued to say, 'O earth, swallow them up!' till at last he wholly disappeared: upon which God said to Moses, 'Thou hadst no mercy on Ḳároon, though he asked pardon of thee four times; but I would have had compassion on him if he had asked pardon of Me but once.'"[2] (Sale.)

[1] Abu-l-Fida, El-Beyḍáwee, &c. [2] El Beyḍáwee. *Vide* D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. art. Carūn.

us thy Lord, that He may manifest to us what she is; *that is, what is her age.* *Moses* replied, He saith, She is a cow neither old nor young; *but* of a middle age, between those *two:* therefore do as ye are commanded. They said, Supplicate for us thy Lord, that He may manifest to us what is her colour. He replied, He saith, She is a red* cow: her colour is very bright: she rejoiceth the beholders. They said, Supplicate for us thy Lord, that He may manifest to us what she is, *whether she be a pasturing or a working cow;* for cows *of the description mentioned* are to us like one another; and we, if God please, shall indeed be rightly directed *to her.* (*In a tradition it is said, Had they not said, If God please,—she had not ever been manifested to them.*) He replied, He saith, She is a cow not subdued *by work,* that plougheth the ground, nor doth she water the field: [*she is*] free *from defects, and the marks of work;* there is no colour in her different from the rest of her colour. They said, Now thou hast brought the truth. *And they sought her, and found her in the possession of the young man who acted piously towards his mother, and they bought her for as much gold as her hide would contain.*† Then they sacrificed her; but they were near to leaving it undone, *on account of the greatness of her*

* Or rather, fawn-coloured; as are most of the cows of Arabia. The word in the original properly signifies yellow.

† The story of this young man is thus related:—"A certain man, at his death, left his son, then a child, a cow-calf, which wandered in the desert till he came to age; at which time his mother told him the heifer was his, and bid him fetch her, and sell her for three pieces of gold. When the young man came to the market with his heifer, an angel in the shape of a man accosted him, and bid him six pieces of gold for her; but he would not take the money till he had asked his mother's consent; which when he had obtained, he returned to the market-place, and met the angel, who now offered him twice as much for the heifer, provided he would say nothing of it to his mother; but the young man, refusing, went and acquainted her with the additional offer. The woman, perceiving it was an angel.

price. (*And in a tradition it is said, Had they sacrificed any cow whatever, He had satisfied them: but they acted hardly towards themselves; so God acted hardly towards them.*) And when ye slew a soul, and contended together respecting it (and God brought forth [*to light*] that which ye did conceal—*this is the beginning of the story,*) [*and was the occasion of the order to sacrifice this particular cow*] we said, Strike him (*that is, the slain person*) with part of her. *So he was struck with her tongue, or the root of her tail, or, as some say, with her right thigh; whereupon he came to life, and said, Such-a-one and such-a-one slew me,—to the two sons of his uncle. And he died. They two* [*the murderers*] *were therefore deprived of the inheritance, and were slain.** Thus God raiseth to life the dead, and showeth you his signs (*the proofs of his power*), that peradventure ye may understand, *and know that He who is able to raise to life one soul is able to raise to life many souls.* Then your hearts became hard, *O ye Jews, so as not to accept the truth,* after that, and they [*were*] as stones, or more hard: for of stones there are indeed some from which rivers gush forth; and of them there are indeed some that cleave asunder, and water issueth from them; and of them there are indeed some that fall down through

bid her son go back and ask him what must be done with the heifer; whereupon the angel told the young man, that, in a little time, the children of Israel would buy that heifer of him at any price."[1] (Sale.)

* The more common tradition seems to be, that the man was murdered by *one* person, the son of his brother, who desired to obtain his property (as his inheritance), or his daughter, or both.[2]

The story of the sacrifice of the cow, says Sale, "seems to be borrowed from the red heifer which was ordered by the Jewish law to be burnt, and the ashes kept for purifying those who happened to touch a dead corpse;[3] and from the heifer directed to be slain for the expiation of an uncertain murder."[4]

[1] Abu-l-Fida. [2] Mir-át ez-Zemán. [3] Numb. xix. [4] Deut. xxi. 1—9.

fear of God; *whereas your hearts are not impressed, nor do they grow soft, nor do they become humble.* But God is not heedless of that which ye do: *He only reserveth you unto your time.* (Chap. ii. vv. 63—69.)

¶ 28. *Remember* when Moses said to his young man *Joshua the son of Nun, who served him, and acquired knowledge from him,* I will not cease *to go forward* until I reach the place where the two seas (*the Sea of Greece and the Sea of Persia*) meet,* or travel for a long space of time. And when they reached the place where they (*the two seas*) met, they forgot their fish:† *Joshua forgot to take it up, on their departure; and Moses forgot to remind him;* and it made its way in the sea by a hollow passage, *God withholding the water from it.* And when they had passed beyond *that place, and proceeded until the time of the morning-meal on the following day,* [*Moses*] said unto his young man, Bring us our morning-meal: we have experienced, from this our journey, fatigue. He replied, What thinkest thou? When we repaired to the rock to rest *at that place,* I forgot the fish, and none made me forget to mention it but the devil; and it made its way in the sea in a wonderful manner.—*Moses* said, That (*namely, our loss of the fish*) is what we were desiring; *for it is a sign unto us of our finding him whom we seek.* And they returned by the way that they had come, following the footsteps, *and came to the rock.* And they found one of our servants (*namely, El-Khidr*)‡ unto whom we had granted mercy

* "Some fancy, that the meeting of Moses and El-Khidr [of whom notice will presently be taken] is here intended, as of two seas of knowledge."[1] (Sale.)

† An explanation of this passage will be found afterwards, in the interwoven commentary.

‡ Also called El-Khadir. This mysterious person, whom the vulgar and some

[1] El-Beydáwee.

from us (*that is, the gift of prophecy, in the opinion of some, and the rank of a saint according to another opinion, which most of the learned hold*), and whom we had taught knowledge from us *respecting things unseen.—El-Bukhâree hath related a tradition, stating that Moses performed the office of a preacher among the children of Israel, and was asked who was the most knowing of men; to which he answered, I:—whereupon God blamed him for this, because he did not refer the knowledge thereof to Him. And God said unto him by revelation, Verily I have a servant at the place where the two seas meet, and he is more knowing than thou. Moses said, O my Lord, and how shall I meet with him? He answered, Thou shalt take with thee a fish, and put it into a measuring-vessel, and where thou shalt loose the fish, there is he. So he took a fish, and put it into a vessel. Then he departed, and Joshua the son of Nun departed with him, until they came to the rock, where they laid down their heads and slept. And the fish became agitated in the vessel, and escaped from it, and fell into the sea, and it made its way in the sea by a hollow passage, God withholding the water from the fish so that it became like a vault over it,*

others regard as a prophet, and identify with Ilyás (Elias, or Elijah), and whom some confound with St. George, was, according to the more approved opinion of the learned, a just man, or saint, the Wezeer and counsellor of that equally doubtful personage Zu-l-Ḳarneyn, whose story has already been related in this volume. El-Khiḍr is said to have drunk of the Fountain of Life, by virtue of which he still lives, and will live till the day of judgment. He is also said to appear frequently to Muslims in perplexity, and to be generally clad in green garments; whence, according to some, his name.—Sale states, in a note on the above passage, that the Muslims usually confound El-Khiḍr with Phineas, as well as Elias and St. George, "saying that his soul passed by a metempsychosis successively through all three;" and he adds, that "part of these fictions they took from the Jews, some of whom also fancy Phineas was Elias.[1]

[1] R. Levi Ben Gerson, in append. l. i. Reg. i. 27.

and when Moses' companion awoke, he forgot to inform him of the fish. (Chap. xviii. vv. 59—64.)

¶ 29. Moses said unto him, [*namely El-Khiḍr*] Shall I follow thee, that thou mayest teach me [*part*] of that which thou hast been taught, for a direction *unto me?* He answered, Verily thou canst not have patience with me. For how canst thou be patient with respect to that whereof thou comprehendest not the knowledge?—He replied, Thou shalt find me, if God please, patient; and I will not disobey any command of thine. He said, Then if thou follow me, ask me not respecting anything: *but be patient* until I give thee an account thereof. *And Moses assented to his condition.* And they departed, *walking along the shore of the sea,* until, when they embarked in the ship *that passed by them,* he (*El-Khiḍr*) made a hole in it, *by pulling out a plank, or two planks, from it, on the outside, by means of an axe, when it reached the middle of the sea. Moses* said *unto him,* Hast thou made a hole in it that thou mayest drown its people? Thou hast done a grievous thing.—(*But it is related that the water entered not the hole.*) He replied, Did I not say that thou couldst not have patience with me? [*Moses*] said, Chastise me not for my forgetfulness, nor impose on me a difficulty in my case.—And they departed; *after they had gone forth from the vessel, walking on,* until, when they found a boy *who had not attained the age of knowing right and wrong, playing with other children, and he was the most beautiful of them in countenance,* and he (*El-Khiḍr*) slew him, *Moses* said *unto him,* Hast thou slain an innocent soul, without *his having slain* a soul? Thou hast done an iniquitous thing.—He replied, Did I not say that thou couldst not have patience with me? [*Moses*]

said, If I ask thee concerning anything after this *time*, suffer me not to accompany thee. Now hast thou received from me an excuse *for thy separating thyself from me*.—And they departed [*and proceeded*] until, when they came to the people of a city (*which was Antioch**), they asked food of its people; but they refused to entertain them: and they found therein in a wall, *the height whereof was a hundred cubits*, which was about to fall down; whereupon he (*El-Khidr*) set it upright *with his hand*. *Moses* said *unto him*, If thou wouldst, thou mightest have obtained pay for it, *since they did not entertain us, notwithstanding our want of food*. *El-Khidr* said *unto him*, This shall be a separation between me and thee: *but before my separation from thee*, I will declare unto thee the interpretation of that which thou couldst not bear with patience. (Chap. xviii. vv. 65—77.)

¶ 30. As to the vessel, it belonged to *ten* poor men,† who pursued their business on the sea; and I desired to render it unsound; for there was behind them a king, *an unbeliever*, who took every *sound* vessel by force. And as to the boy, his parents were believers, and we feared that he would transgress against them rebelliously and impiously: *for, according to a tradition related by Muslim, he was constituted by nature an unbeliever; and had he lived, he had so acted;* wherefore we desired that their Lord should create for them a better than he in virtue, and [*one*] more disposed than

* "Or, as some rather think, El-Ubulleh, near El-Baṣrah, or else Bájarwán in Armenia."[1] (Sale.)

† "They were ten brothers, five of whom were past their labour by reason of their age."[2] (*Idem.*)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee. [2] *Idem.*

he to filial piety. *And God created for them a daughter, who married a prophet, and gave birth to a prophet, by means of whom God directed a people to the right way.* And as to the wall, it belonged to two orphan youths in the city, and beneath it was a treasure *buried, of gold and silver,* belonging to them; and their father was a righteous man; and thy Lord desired that they should attain their age of strength, and take forth their treasure, through the mercy of thy Lord. And I did it not (*namely, what hath been mentioned*) of mine own will, *but by direction of God.* This is the interpretation of that which thou couldst not bear with patience.* (Chap. xviii. vv. 78—81.)

* Parnell's "Hermit" seems to have been founded, immediately or mediately, on this story.

§ XVII. Of Saul, and David, and Solomon.

¶ 1. Hast thou not considered the assembly of the children of Israel after *the death of* Moses, when they said unto a prophet of theirs, *namely Samuel,* Set up for us a king, *under whom* we will fight in the way of God? He said *unto them,* If fighting be prescribed as incumbent on you, will ye, peradventure, abstain from fighting? They replied, And wherefore should we not fight in the way of God, since we have been expelled from our habitations and our children *by their having been taken prisoners, and slain?—The people of Goliath* had done thus unto them.*—But when fighting was commanded them, they turned back, excepting a few of them, *who crossed the river with Saul,*† *as will be related.* And God knoweth the offenders. *And the prophet begged his Lord to send a king; whereupon He consented to send Saul.* And their prophet said unto them, Verily God hath set up Saul as your king. They said, How shall he have the dominion over us, when we are more worthy of the dominion than he, (*for he was not of the royal lineage, nor of the prophetic, and he was a tanner, or a tender of flocks or herds,*) and he hath not been

* Called in the Ḳur-án "Jáloot." † Called in the Ḳur-án "Ṭáloot."

endowed with ample wealth? He replied, Verily God hath chosen him *as king* over you, and increased him in largeness of knowledge and of body (*for he was the wisest of the children of Israel at that time, and the most comely of them, and the most perfect of them in make*), and God giveth his kingdom unto whom He pleaseth; and God is ample *in His beneficence*, knowing *with respect to him who is worthy of the kingdom.*—And their prophet said unto them, *when they demanded of him a sign in proof of his kingship*, Verily the sign of his kingship *shall be* that the ark shall come unto you (*in it were the images of the prophets: God sent it down unto Adam, and it passed into their possession; but the Amalekites took it from them by force: and they used to seek victory thereby over their enemy, and to advance it in the fight, and to trust in it, as He whose name be exalted! hath said*); therein [*shall be*] tranquillity from your Lord,* and relics of what the family of Moses, and the family of Aaron, have left: *namely, the two shoes* (*or sandals*) *of Moses, and his rod, and the turban of Aaron, and a measure of the manna that used to descend upon them, and the fragments of the tables* [*of the Law*]: the angels shall bear it. Verily in this shall be a sign unto you, *of his kingship*, if ye be believers. *Accordingly the angels bore it between heaven and earth, while they looked at it, until they placed it by Saul; whereupon they acknowledged his kingship, and hastened to the holy war; and he chose, of their young men, seventy thousand.* (Chap. ii. vv. 247—249.)

* "That is, because of the great confidence the Israelites placed in it, having won several battles by its miraculous assistance. I imagine, however, that the Arabic word 'sekeeneh,' which signifies 'tranquillity' or 'security of mind,' and is so understood by the commentators, may not improbably mean the 'divine presence' or 'glory,' which used to appear on the ark, and which the Jews express by the same word 'Shechinah.'" (Sale.)

¶ 2. And when Saul went forth with the troops *from Jerusalem, and it was violently hot weather, and they demanded of him water*, he said, Verily God will try you by a river, *that the obedient among you, and the disobedient, may appear*, (*and it was between the Jordan and Palestine*,) and whoso drinketh thereof, he is not of my party, (but he who tasteth not thereof, he is of my party,) excepting him who taketh forth a draught in his hand, *and is satisfied therewith, not adding to it; for he is of my party*;—then they drank thereof *abundantly*, excepting a few of them, *who were content only with the handful of water. It is related that it sufficed them for their own drinking and for their beasts, and they were three hundred, and somewhat more than ten.** And when he had passed over it, he and those who believed, with him, they (*that is, those who had drunk* [*plentifully*] said, We have no power to-day *to contend* against Goliath and his troops. *And they were cowardly, and passed not over it.* They [*however*] who held it as certain that they should meet God *at the resurrection* (*and they were those who had passed over it*) said, How many a small body of men hath overcome a great body by the permission (*or will*) of God! And God is with the patient, *to defend and aid.*—And when they went forth to battle against Goliath and his troops, they said, O our Lord, pour upon us patience, and make firm our feet, *by strengthening our hearts for the holy war*, and help us against the unbelieving people!—And they routed them by the permission (*or will*) of God,

* "It seems," observes Sale, "that Mohammad has here confounded Saul with Gideon, who by the divine direction took with him against the Midianites such of his army only as lapped water out of their hands, which were three hundred men."[1]

[1] Judges, vii.

and David,* *who was in the army of Saul,* slew Goliath. And God gave him (*namely David*) the kingship *over the children of Israel,* and wisdom (*that is, prophecy*), *after the death of Samuel and Saul, and they* [*namely, these two gifts*] *had not been given together to any one before him;* and He taught him what He pleased,† *as the art of making coats of mail, and the language of birds.*‡ And were it not for God's repelling men, one by another, surely the earth had become corrupt *by the predominance of the polytheists, and the slaughter of the Muslims, and the ruin of the places of worship:* but God is beneficent to the peoples, *and hath repelled some by others.* (Chap. ii. vv. 250—252.)

¶ 3. Hath the story of the two opposing parties come unto thee, *O Moḥammad,* when they ascended over the walls of the oratory *of David, having been prevented going in unto him by the door, because of his being engaged in devotion?*§ When they went in unto

* Called by the Arabs "Dáood."

† Sale observes, that "Yaḥya most rationally understands hereby the divine revelations which David received from God," and not the art of making coats of mail.—The cause of his applying himself to this art is thus related in the Mir-át ez-Zemán:—"He used to go forth in disguise; and when he found any people who knew him not, he approached them and asked them respecting the conduct of David, and they praised him and prayed for him; but one day, as he was asking questions respecting himself as usual, God sent to him an angel in the form of a human being, who said, 'An excellent man were David if he did not take from the public treasury:'—whereupon the heart of David was contracted, and he begged of God to render him independent: so He made iron soft to him, and it became in his hands as thread; and he used to sell a coat of mail for four thousand [pieces of money—whether gold or silver is not said], and with part of this he obtained food for himself, and part he gave in alms, and with part he fed his family."[1]—Hence an excellent coat-of-mail is often called by the Arabs "Dáoodee," *i. e.* "Davidean."

‡ See a note to ¶ 6 of this section.

§ "For David, they say, divided his time regularly, setting apart one day for

[1] Quoted in my translation of the Thousand and One Nights, chap. viii. note 6.

David, and he was frightened at them, they said, Fear not: *we are* two opposing parties. *It is said that they were two parties of more than one each; and it is said that they were two individuals, angels, who came as two litigants, to admonish David, who had ninety-nine wives, and had desired the wife of a person who had none but her, and married her and taken her as his wife.** [*One of them said,*] One of us hath wronged the other; therefore judge between us with truth, and be not unjust, but direct us to the right way. Verily this my brother *in religion* had nine-and-ninety ewes, and I had one ewe; and he said, Make me her keeper. And he overcame me in the dispute.—*And the other confessed him to have spoken truth.*—[*David*] said, Verily he hath wronged thee in demanding thy ewe *to add her* to his ewes; and verily many associates wrong one another, except those who believe, and do righteous deeds: and few indeed are they.—*And the two angels said, ascending in their* [*proper or assumed*] *forms to heaven, The man hath passed sentence against himself. So David was admonished.* And David perceived that we had tried him, *by his love of that woman;* wherefore he asked pardon of his Lord, and fell down bowing himself (*or prostrating himself,*) and repented. So we forgave him that; and verily for him [*was ordained*] a high rank with us (*that is, an increase of good fortune in this world*), and [*there shall be for him*] an excellent retreat *in the world to come.* (Chap. xxxviii. vv. 20—24.)

¶ 4. We compelled the mountains to glorify us, with

the service of God, another day for rendering justice to his people, another day for preaching to them, and another day for his own affairs."[1] (Sale.)

* See 2 Samuel, chap. xii.

[1] El-Beydáwee.

David, and the birds *also, on his commanding them to do so, when he experienced languor;** and we did *this.* And we taught him the art of making coats of mail† (*for before his time, plates of metal were used*), for you *among mankind in general,* that they might defend you from your suffering *in warring with your enemies.*—Will ye then, *O people of Mekkeh,* be thankful *for my favours, believing the apostles?*—And *we subjected* unto Solomon‡ the wind, blowing strongly, *and being light at his desire,* which ran at his command§ to the land that we blessed (*namely Syria*);‖ and we knew all things (*knowing that what we gave him would stimulate him to be submissive to his Lord.* And *we subjected,* of the devils, those who should dive for him *in the sea, and bring forth from it jewels for him,* and do other work besides that; *that is, building, and performing other services;*¶ and we watched over them, *that they might not spoil what they*

* The Muslims, like the Jews, as Sale observes, interpret literally the words of the Psalmist in which he calls upon the several parts of nature to join with him in celebrating the praise of God.[1]

† See above, a note to ¶ 2 of this section.

‡ Called by the Arabs "Suleymán."

§ "They say that he had a carpet of green silk, on which his throne was placed, being of a prodigious length and breadth, and sufficient for all his forces to stand on, the men placing themselves on his right hand, and the spirits [or jinn] on his left; and that when all were in order, the wind, at his command, took up the carpet, and transported it, with all that were upon it, wherever he pleased; the army of birds, at the same time, flying over their heads, and forming a kind of canopy, to shade them from the sun." (Sale.)

‖ "Whither the wind brought back Solomon's throne in the evening, after having carried it to a distant country in the morning." (*Idem.*)

¶ The Talmudists[2] "have interpreted the Hebrew words of Solomon[3] which the English version renders, 'I gat men-singers, and women-singers,' as if that prince had forced demons or spirits to serve him at his table, and in other capacities; and particularly in his vast and magnificent buildings, which they could not conceive he could otherwise have performed." (*Idem,* in a note to chap. xxvii.)

[1] See Psalm cxlviii. [2] *Vide* Midrash, Yalkut Shemuni, p. 11. f. 29; *et* Millium de Mohammadismo ante Mohammed. p. 232. [3] Eccles. ii. 8.

executed; for they used, when they had finished a work before night, to spoil it, if they were not employed in something else. (Chap. xxi. vv. 79—82.)

¶ 5. We gave, unto David, Solomon, *his son.* How excellent a servant *was he!* For he was one who earnestly turned himself unto God, *glorifying and praising Him at all times.* [*Remember*] when, in the latter part of the day, *after the commencement of the declining of the sun,* the *mares* standing on three feet and touching the ground with the edge of the fourth foot, swift in the course, were displayed before him. *They were a thousand mares, which were displayed before him after he had performed the noon-prayers, on the occasion of his desiring to make use of them in a holy war; and when nine hundred of them had been displayed, the sun set, and he had not performed the afternoon-prayers. So he was grieved,* and he said, Verily I have preferred the love of [*earthly*] goods above the remembrance of my Lord (*that is, the performance of the afternoon-prayers*), so that *the sun* is concealed by the veil. Bring them (*namely, the horses*) back unto me. *Therefore they brought them back.* And he began to sever *with his sword* the legs and the necks, *slaughtering them, and* [*then*] *cutting off their legs, as a sacrifice unto God, and gave their flesh in alms; and God gave him, in compensation, what was better than they were, and swifter; namely, the wind, which travelled by his command whithersoever he desired.*—And we tried Solomon, *by depriving him of his kingdom.** *This was because he married a woman, of whom he became enamoured, and she used to*

* The exposition here commencing is taken, as Sale has observed, from a Talmudic tradition.[1]

[1] *Vide* Talm. En. Jacob, part ii; and Yalkut in lib. Reg. p. 182.

worship an idol in his palace, without his knowledge. His dominion was in his signet; and he pulled it off once, and deposited it with his wife, who was named El-Emeeneh; and a jinnee came unto her, in the form of Solomon, and took it from her. And we placed upon his throne a [*counterfeit*] body; *namely, that jinnee, who was Ṣakhr, or another. He sat upon the throne of Solomon, and the birds and other creatures surrounded him; and Solomon went forth, with a changed appearance, and saw him upon his throne, and said unto the people, I am Solomon:—but they denied him.* Then he returned *unto his kingdom, after some days, having obtained the signet, and put it on, and seated himself upon his throne.** He said, O my Lord, forgive me, and give me a dominion that may not be to any one after me (*or beside me*); for Thou art the Liberal Giver. So we subjected unto him the wind, which ran gently at his command whithersoever he desired; and the devils [*also*], every builder *of wonderful structures,* and diver *that brought up pearls from the sea,* and others bound in chains *which connected their hands to their necks. And we said unto him,* This is our gift, and bestow thou *thereof upon whomsoever thou wilt,* or refrain *from bestowing,* without *rendering* an account. And verily for him [*was ordained*] a high rank with us, [*that is, an increase of good fortune in this world,*]† and [*there shall*

* "After the space of forty days, which was the time the image had been worshipped in his house, the devil [or jinnee] flew away, and threw the signet into the sea: the signet was immediately swallowed by a fish, which being taken and given to Solomon, he found the ring in its belly, and, having by this means recovered the kingdom, took Ṣakhr, and, tying a great stone to his neck, threw him into the Lake of Tiberias."[1] (Sale.)

† As explained above, at the close of ¶ 3 of this section.

[1] El-Beyḍáwee, and Abu-l-Fida.

be for him] an excellent retreat [*in the world to come.*] (Chap. xxxviii. vv. 29—39.)

¶ 6. We bestowed on David and Solomon knowledge *in judging men, and in the language of the birds, and other matters;* and they said, Praise be to God who hath made us to excel many of his believing servants, *by the gift of prophecy, and by the subjection of the jinn and mankind and the devils!* And Solomon inherited from David *the gift of prophecy and knowledge;* and he said, O men, we have been taught the language of the birds,* and have had bestowed on us of everything *wherewith prophets and kings are gifted.* Verily this is manifest excellence.—And his armies of jinn and men and birds, were gathered together unto Solomon,† and they were led on in order, until, when they came unto the valley of ants (*which* [*was*] *at Et-Ṭáïf, or in Syria, the ants thereof* [*were*] *small or great*), an ant (*the queen of the ants*), *having seen the troops of Solomon,* said, O ants, enter your habitations, lest Solomon and his troops crush you violently, while they perceive not. And *Solomon* smiled, *afterwards* laughing at her saying, *which he heard from the distance of three miles, the wind conveying it to him: so he withheld his forces when he came in sight of their valley, until the ants had entered their dwellings; and his troops were on horses and on foot, in this expedition.* And he said, O my Lord, inspire me to be thankful for Thy favour which Thou

* "That is, the meaning of their several voices, though not articulate; of Solomon's interpretation whereof the commentators give several instances."[1] (Sale.)

† See a note to ¶ 4 of this section.

[1] See Marracc. *not. in loc.* p. 511; and note 30 to the Introduction of my Translation of the Thousand and One Nights.

hast bestowed upon me and upon my parents, and to do righteousness which Thou shalt approve, and introduce me, in Thy mercy, among Thy servants, the righteous, *the prophets and the saints.* (Chap. xxii. vv. 15—19.)

¶ 7. And he examined the birds,* *that he might see the lapwing, that saw the water beneath the earth, and directed to it by pecking the earth, whereupon the devils used to draw it forth when Solomon wanted it* [*to perform the ablution*] *for prayer: but he saw it not;* and he said, Wherefore do I not see the lapwing? Is it [*one*] of the absent?—*And when he was certain of the case he said,* I will assuredly punish it with a severe punishment, *by plucking out its feathers and its tail, and casting it in the sun, so that it shall not be able to guard against excessive thirst;* or I will slaughter it; or it shall bring me a manifest convincing proof, *showing its excuse.*—And it tarried not long *before it presented itself unto Solomon, submissively, and raised its head, and relaxed its tail and its wings: so he forgave it; and he asked it what it had met with during its absence;* and it said, I have become acquainted with that wherewith thou hast not become acquainted, and I have come unto thee from Seba (*a tribe of El-Yemen*) with a sure piece of news. I found a woman reigning over them, *named Bilkees,* and she hath been gifted with everything *that princes require,* and hath a magnificent throne. (*Its length was eighty*

* "The Arab historians tell us, that Solomon, having finished the Temple of Jerusalem, went in pilgrimage to Mekkeh, where having staid as long as he pleased, he proceeded towards El-Yemen; and leaving Mekkeh in the morning, he arrived by noon at Ṣan'a, and being extremely delighted with the country, rested there; but wanting water to make the ablution, he looked among the birds for the lapwing," which found it for him."[1] (Sale.)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee.

cubits; and its breadth, forty cubits; and its height, thirty cubits: it was composed of gold and silver set with fine pearls and with rubies and chrysolites; and its legs were of rubies and chrysolites and emeralds: upon it [*were closed*] *seven doors: to each chamber* [*through which one passed to it was*] *a closed door.*) I found her and her people worshipping the sun instead of God, and the devil hath made their works to seem comely unto them, so that he hath hindered them from the *right* way, wherefore they are not rightly directed to the worship of God, who produceth what is hidden (*namely, the rain, and vegetables*), in the heavens and the earth, and knoweth what they [*that is, mankind and others*] conceal *in their hearts,* and what they reveal *with their tongues.* God: there is no deity but He, the Lord of the magnificent throne, *between which and the throne of Bilkees is a vast difference.* (Chap. xxvii. vv. 20—26.)

¶ 8. *Solomon* said *to the lapwing,* We will see whether thou hast spoken truth, or whether thou art [*one*] of the liars. *Then the lapwing guided them to the water, and it was drawn forth* [*by the devils*]; *and they quenched their thirst, and performed the ablution, and prayed. Then Solomon wrote a letter, the form whereof was this;—From the servant of God, Solomon the son of David, to Bilkees the queen of Seba. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Peace be on whomsoever followeth the right direction. After* [*this salutation, I say*], *Act ye not proudly towards me; but come unto me submitting.—He then sealed it with musk, and stamped it with his signet, and said unto the lapwing,* Go with this my letter, and throw it down unto them (*namely Bilkees and her people*); then turn away from them, *but stay near them,* and see what *reply* they will

return. *So the lapwing took it, and came unto her, and around her were her forces; and he threw it down into her lap; and when she saw it, she trembled with fear. Then she considered what was in it, and* she said *unto the nobles of her people,* O nobles, an honourable (*sealed*) letter hath been thrown down unto me. It is from Solomon; and it is *this:*—In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Act ye not proudly towards me; but come unto me submitting.—She said, O nobles, advise me in mine affair. I will not decide upon a thing unless ye bear me witness.—They replied, We are endowed with strength, and endowed with great valour; but the command [*appertaineth*] to thee; therefore see what thou will command *us to do, and we will obey thee.* She said, Verily kings, when they enter a city, waste it, and render the mighty of its inhabitants abject; and thus will they do *who have sent the letter.* But I will send unto them with a gift, and I will see with what the messengers will return, *whether the gift will be accepted, or whether it will be rejected. If he be* [*merely*] *a king, he will accept it; and if he be a prophet, he will not accept it.—And she sent male and female servants, a thousand, in equal numbers,* [*five hundred of each sex,*] *and five hundred bricks of gold, and a crown set with jewels, and musk and ambergris and other things, by a messenger with a letter.** *And the lapwing hastened unto Solomon, to tell him the news; on hearing which, he*

* "Some add, that Bilkees, to try whether Solomon was a prophet or not, drest the boys like girls, and the girls like boys, and sent him, in a casket, a pearl not drilled, and an onyx drilled with a crooked hole; and that Solomon distinguished the boys from the girls by the different manner of their taking water, and ordered one worm to bore the pearl, and another to pass a thread through the onyx."[1] (Sale.)

[1] El-Beydáwee.

commanded that bricks of gold and silver should be cast, and that a horse-course should be extended to the length of nine leagues from the place where he was, and that they should build around it a wall with battlements, of gold and silver, and that the handsomest of the beasts of the land and of the sea should be brought with the sons of the jinn, on the right side of the horse-course and on its left. (Chap. xxvii. vv. 27—35.)

¶ 9. And when *the messenger* came *with the gift, and with him his attendants,* unto Solomon, he [*that is, Solomon*] said, Do ye aid me with wealth? But what God hath given me (*namely, the gift of prophecy, and the kingdom*) is better than what He hath given you, *of worldly goods;* yet ye rejoice in your gift, *because ye glory in the showy things of this world.* Return unto them *with the gift that thou hast brought;* for we will surely come unto them with forces with which they have not power [*to contend*] and we will surely drive them out from it (*that is, from their country, Seba, which was named after the father of their tribe*), abject and contemptible, *if they come not unto us submitting. And when the messenger returned unto her, with the gift, she placed her throne within seven doors, within her palace, and her palace was within seven palaces; and she closed the doors, and set guards to them, and prepared to go unto Solomon, that she might see what he would command her to do. She departed with twelve thousand kings, each king having with him many thousands, and proceeded until she came as near to him as a league's distance; when he knew of her* [*approach, and*] he said, O nobles, which of you will bring unto me her throne before they come unto me submitting? An 'efreet,* of the jinn, answer-

* See a note to ¶ 1 of § v.

ed, I will bring it unto thee before thou shalt arise from thy place *wherein thou sittest to judge from morning until mid-day;* for I am able to do it, [*and*] trustworthy *with respect to the jewels that it compriseth, and other matters. Solomon said, I desire it more speedily.* [*And thereupon*] he with whom was knowledge of the *revealed* scripture (*namely,* [*his Wezeer*] *A'ṣaf the son of Barkhiya, who was a just person, acquainted with the most great name of God, which insured an answer to him who invoked thereby**) said, I will bring it unto thee before thy glance can be withdrawn *from any object. And he said unto him, Look at the sky. So he looked at it: then he withdrew his glance, and found it placed before him: for during his look towards the sky, A'saf prayed, by the most great name, that God would bring it; and it so happened; the throne passing under the ground until it came up before the throne of Solomon.* And when he saw it firmly placed before him, he said, This is of the favour of my Lord, that He may try me, whether I shall be thankful, or whether I shall be unthankful. And he who is thankful is thankful for *the sake of* his own soul, *which will have the reward of his thankfulness;* and [*as to*] him who is ungrateful, my Lord is independent, [*and*] bountiful. (Chap. xxvii. vv. 36—40.)

¶ 10. [*Then Solomon*] said, Alter ye her throne so that it may not be known by her, that we may see whether she be rightly directed *to the knowledge thereof,* or whether she be of those who are not rightly directed *to the knowledge of that which is altered. He desired*

* "Others, however, suppose it was El-Khiḍr, or else Gabriel, or some other angel; and some imagine it to have been Solomon himself."[1] (Sale.)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee.

theeby to try her intelligence. So they altered it, by adding to it, or taking from it, or in some other manner. And when she came, it was said *unto her,* Is thy throne like this? She answered, As though it were the same. *She answered them ambiguously like as they had questioned her ambiguously, not saying, Is this thy throne?—and had they so said, she had answered, Yes.*) *And when Solomon saw her knowledge, he said,* And we have had knowledge bestowed on us before her, and have been Muslims. But what she worshipped instead of God hindered her *from worshipping Him;* for she was of an unbelieving people.—It was said unto her *also,* Enter the palace. (*It had a floor of white, transparent glass, beneath which was running water, wherein were fish. Solomon had made it on its being said unto him that her legs and feet were* [*hairy*] *like the legs of an ass.* And when she saw it, she imagined it to be a great water, and she uncovered her legs, *that she might wade through it; and Solomon was on his throne, at the upper end of the palace, and he saw that her legs and her feet were handsome.* He said *unto her,* Verily it is a palace evenly spread with glass. *And he invited her to embrace El-Islám,* [*whereupon*] she said, O my Lord, verily I have acted unjustly towards mine own soul, *by worshipping another than Thee,* and I resign myself, with Solomon, unto God, the Lord of the worlds. *And he desired to marry her; but he disliked the hair upon her legs; so the devils made for him the depilatory of quick-lime, wherewith she removed the hair, and he married her; and he loved her, and confirmed her in her kingdom. He used to visit her every month once, and to remain with her three days; and her reign expired on the expiration of the reign of Solomon. It is related that he began to reign*

when he was thirteen years of age, and died at the age of three and fifty years. Extolled be the perfection of Him to the duration of whose dominion there is no end! (Chap. xxvii. vv. 41—45.)

¶ 11. *We subjected* unto Solomon the wind, which travelled in the morning (*unto the period when the sun began to decline*) *the distance of* a month's *journey*, and in the evening *from the commencement of the declining of the sun into its setting*) a month's *journey*. And we made the fountain of molten brass to flow for him *three days with their nights* [*in every month*], *as water floweth*;* *and the people worked until the day* [*of its flowing*], *with that which had been given unto Solomon*. And of the jinn [*were*] those who worked in his presence, by the will of his Lord; and such of them as swerved from *obedience to* our command we will cause to taste of the punishment of hell *in the world to come* (*or, as it is said by some, we cause to taste of its punishment in the present world, an angel beating them with a scourge from hell, the stripe of which burneth them.* They made for him whatever he pleased, of lofty halls (*with steps whereby to ascend to them,*) and images (*for they were not forbidden by his law*†), and large dishes, like great tanks for watering camels, *around each of which assembled a thousand men, eating from it,* and cooking-pots standing firmly *on their legs, cut out from the mountains in El-Yemen, and to which they ascended by ladders. And we said,* Work, O family of David, *in the service of God,*

* "This fountain they say was in El-Yemen."[1] (Sale.)

† "Some say these spirits made him two lions, which were placed at the foot of his throne; and two eagles, which were set above it; and that when he mounted it, the lions stretched out their paws; and when he sat down, the eagles shaded him with their wings."[2] (*Idem.*)

[1] El-Beydáwee. [2] *Idem.*

with thanksgiving *unto Him for what He hath given you:* —but few of my servants are the thankful. And when we decreed that he (*namely Solomon*) should die, *and he died, and remained standing, and leaning upon his staff for a year, dead, the jinn meanwhile performing those difficult works as they were accustomed to do, not knowing of his death, until the worm ate his staff, whereupon he fell down,* nothing showed them his death but the eating reptile (*the worm*) that ate his staff.* And when he fell down, the jinn plainly perceived that if they had known things unseen (*of which things was the death of Solomon*), they had not continued in the ignominious affliction (*that is, in their difficult works*), *imagining that he was alive, inconsistently with their opinion that they knew things unseen. And that the period was a year, was known by calculating what the worm had eaten of his staff, since his death, in each day and night, or other space of time.* (Chap. xxxiv. vv. 11—13.)

* "The commentators, to explain this passage, tell us, that David, having laid the foundations of the Temple of Jerusalem, which was to be in lieu of the tabernacle of Moses, when he died, left it to be finished by his son Solomon, who employed the genii in the work: that Solomon, before the edifice was quite completed, perceiving his end drew nigh, begged of God that his death might be concealed from the genii till they had entirely finished it: that God therefore so ordered it, that Solomon died as he stood at his prayers, leaning on his staff, which supported the body in that posture a full year; and the genii, supposing him to be alive, continued their work during that term, at the expiration whereof the temple being perfectly completed, a worm, which had gotten into the staff, ate it through, and the corpse fell to the ground, and discovered the king's death.[1]

"Possibly this fable of the Temple's being built by genii, and not by men, might take its rise from what is mentioned in Scripture, that the house 'was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither; so that there was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was building.'[2] The Rabbins indeed tell us of a worm, which might assist the workmen, its virtue being such as to cause the rocks and stones to fly in sunder.[3] Whether the worm which gnawed Solomon's staff were of the same breed with this other, I know not; but the story has perfectly the air of a Jewish invention." (Sale.)

[1] El-Beydáwee, and Jelál ed-Deen. [2] 1 Kings, vi. 7. [3] *Vide* Kimhi, *in loc.* Buxt. Lex. Talm. p. 2456, and Schickardi Tarich reg. Pers. p. 62.

§ XVIII. Of Jonas.

Verily Jonas* [*was one*] of the apostles. [*Remember*] when he fled unto the laden ship, *being angry with his people, because the punishment wherewith he had threatened them did not fall upon them; wherefore he embarked in the ship; and it became stationary in the midst of the sea: so the sailors said, Here is a slave who hath fled from his master, and the lot will discover him:*—and he cast lots *with those who were in the ship,* and he was [*the*] one upon whom the lot fell. *They therefore cast him into the sea,* and the fish swallowed him; and he was reprehensible, *for having gone to the sea, and embarked in the ship, without the permission of his Lord.* And had he not been of those who glorified God (*by his saying often in the belly of the fish, There is no deity but Thou! I extol Thy perfection! Verily I have been* [*one*] *of the offenders!*), he had remained in his belly until the day of resurrection.† And we cast him on the plain land, *the same day, or after three or seven days, or twenty or forty days;* and he was sick; and we

* Called in Arabic "Yoonus."

† "It is said that the fish, after it had swallowed Jonas, swam after the ship with its head above water, that the prophet might breathe; who continued to praise God till the fish came to land and vomited him out." (Sale.)

caused a gourd-plant* to grow up over him, *to shade him. It had a trunk, contrary to what is the case of gourds in general, being miraculously produced for him.*† *And a wild she-goat came to him evening and morning, of whose milk he drank until he became strong.* And we sent him *after that, as before,* unto *his people in Nineveh, in the land of El-Moṣil,* a hundred thousand, or they were a greater number *by twenty, or thirty, or seventy thousand;* and they believed *on beholding the punishment wherewith they had been threatened;*‡ wherefore we allowed them enjoyment *of their goods* for a time, *until the expiration of their terms of life.* (Chap. xxxvii. vv. 139—148.)

* Sale states, that some imagine Jonas's plant to have been a fig; and others, the móz[1] (or banana), which bears very large leaves, and excellent fruit.

† "The commentators add, that this plant withered the next morning, and that Jonas being much concerned at it, God made a remonstrance to him in behalf of the Ninevites, agreeable to what is recorded in Scripture." (Sale.)

‡ "When he first began to exhort them to repentance, instead of hearkening to him, they used him very ill, so that he was obliged to leave the city, threatening them, at his departure, that they should be destroyed within three days, or, as others say, within forty.[2] But when the time drew near, and they saw the heavens overcast with a black cloud, which shot forth fire, and filled the air with smoke, and hung directly over their city, they were in a terrible consternation, and getting into the fields, with their families and cattle, they put on sackcloth, and humbled themselves before God, calling aloud for pardon, and sincerely repenting of their past wickedness. Whereupon God was pleased to forgive them, and the storm blew over."[3] (*Idem*, in a note to chap. x.)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee. [2] See Jonah, iii. 4. [3] El Beyḍáwee, Jelál-ed-Deen and Abu-l-Fida.

§ XIX. Of certain Israelites in the time of Ezekiel.

Hast thou not considered those who went forth from their habitations, and they were thousands (*four, or eight, or ten, or thirty, or forty, or seventy, thousand*), through fear of death? *They were a people of the children of Israel, in whose country a pestilence happened, wherefore they fled.** And God said unto them, Die:—*and they died.* Then he raised them to life, *after eight days, or more, at the prayer of their prophet Ezekiel; and they lived a long time, bearing the traces of death, wearing no garment but it became like grave-clothing; and it remained* [*so*] *with their descendants.* (Chap. ii. v. 244.)

* "Or, as others say, to avoid serving in a religious war: but as they fled, God struck them all dead in a certain valley. About eight days or more after, when their bodies were corrupted, the prophet Ezekiel the son of Buzi, happening to pass that way, at the sight of their bones, wept; whereupon God said to him, 'Call to them, O Ezekiel, and I will restore them to life.' And accordingly on the prophet's call, they all arose[1]. This story seems to have been taken from Ezekiel's vision of the resurrection of dry bones."[2] (Sale.)

"Some of the Mohammadan writers will have Ezekiel to have been one of the Judges of Israel, and to have succeeded Othoniel the son of Caleb. They also call this prophet 'Ibn-El-'Ajooz,' or 'the Son of the Old Woman;' because, they say, his mother obtained him by her prayers in her old age."[3] (*Idem.*)

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[1] Yahya, Abu-l-Fida, &c. [2] Ezek. xxxvii. 1—10. [3] Eth-Thaalebee, Aboo-Is-hák, &c.

§ XX. Of 'Ozeyr, or Ezra.

[*Hast thou not considered*] him who passed by a city (*which was Jerusalem*), *riding upon an ass, and having with him a basket of figs and a vessel of the juice of grapes* (*and he was 'Ozeyr* [*or Ezra*]), and it was falling down upon its roofs, *Nebuchadnezzar having ruined it?* He said, *wondering at the power of God,* How will God quicken this after its death?—And God caused him to die for a hundred years. Then He raised him to life: [*and*] He said *unto him,* How long hast thou tarried *here?*—He answered, I have tarried a day, or part of a day.—*For he slept in the first part of the day, and was deprived of his life, and reanimated at sun-set.* He said, Nay, thou hast tarried a hundred years: but look at thy food and thy drink: they have not become changed by time: and look at thine ass.—*And he beheld it dead, and its bones white and shining.—We have done this that thou mayest know,* and that we may make thee a sign *of the resurrection* unto men. And look at the bones *of thine ass,* how we will raise them; then we will clothe them with flesh.—*So he looked at them, and they had become put together, and were clothed with flesh, and life was breathed into it, and it brayed.* Therefore when it had been made manifest to him, he said, I know that God is able to accomplish everything.* (Chap. ii. v. 261.)

* Sale thinks, that this story "may perhaps have taken its rise from Nehemiah's viewing of the ruins of Jerusalem."[1]—Respecting Ezra, see a note to ¶ 3 of § iii.

[1] Nehem. ii. 12, &c.

§ XXI. Of the Messiah.

¶ 1. *Remember* when the wife of 'Emrán* said (*when she had become aged, and desired offspring, wherefore she supplicated God, and became sensible of pregnancy*), O my Lord, verily I devote unto Thee what is in my womb, to be dedicated *to the service of Thy Holy House:* then accept [*it*] from me; for Thou art the Hearer *of prayer,* the Knower *of intentions. And 'Emrán perished while she was pregnant.* And when she gave birth to it (*namely, her daughter; and she was hoping that it might be a boy; since none but boys were dedicated*), she said, O my Lord, verily I have brought forth a female (and God well knew what she had brought forth), and the male is not as the female, *the latter not being fit for the service* [*of the temple*]; and I have named her Mary;† and I beg thy protection for her and her offspring from the accursed devil.‡ (*In the traditions* [*it is said*], *No child is born but the devil hath touched it at the time of*

* 'Emrán, as observed by Sale, is the name of two several persons, according to the Muslims: one was the father of Moses and Aaron, and the other was the father of the Virgin Mary. The latter is here meant, and his wife's name was Hannah, or Ann.

† Called by the Arabs "Maryam."

‡ Or, the devil driven away with stones.—See a note to ¶ 11 of § iii.

*its birth, wherefore it first raiseth its voice by crying, excepting Mary and her son.**) And her Lord accepted her (*that is, He accepted Mary from her mother*) with a gracious acceptance, and caused her to grow with an excellent growth, *as though she grew in a day as a child [generally] groweth in a month. Her mother took her to the doctors, the keepers of the Holy House, and said, Receive ye this devoted child. And they eagerly desired her, because she was the daughter of their chief. But Zechariah said, I am more worthy of having her; for her maternal aunt is with me. They, however, replied, Nay; but we will cast lots.—So they departed (and they were nine and twenty) to the river Jordan, and cast their divining-arrows on the understanding that he whose arrow should become steady in the water, and rise, should be [acknowledged] most worthy of her; and the arrow of Zechariah became steady, and he took her, and built for her a chamber in the temple, with stairs, to which no one ascended but himself. And he used to bring her her food and her drink and her ointment; and used to find with her the fruits of winter in summer, and the fruits of summer in winter, as He whose name be exalted! hath said,* And Zechariah maintained her. Whenever Zechariah went in to her in the chamber, he found, with her, provisions. He said, O Mary, whence came to thee this? She answered (*being then a little child*), It is from God: *He bringeth it to me from paradise:* for God supplieth whom He pleaseth without reckoning. (Chap. iii. vv. 31—32.).

¶ 2. There, *when he saw this, and knew that He who*

* "And for this reason, they say, neither of them was guilty of any sin, like the rest of the children of Adam."[1] (Sale.)

[1] Katádeh.

was able to produce a thing out of its season was able to give a child in old age (*and the people of his house had become extinct*), Zechariah supplicated his Lord, *when he had entered the chamber to pray, in the latter part of the night.* He said, O my Lord, give me from Thee a good offspring (*a righteous son*); for Thou art the Hearer of prayer,—And the angels (*by which is meant Gabriel*) called to him as he stood praying in the chamber (*that is, the temple*), saying, God promiseth thee John,* who shall be a verifier of [*the*] Word *which cometh* from God (*that is, Jesus;*† *for He is the Spirit of God, and was named* [*the*] *Word because he was created by the word Be*), and a chief (*or one followed*), and chaste, and a prophet, of the righteous. (*It is related that he neither did any sin, nor intended any.*)—He said, O my Lord, how shall I have a son, when old age hath come upon me, *when I have attained the utmost age, a hundred and twenty years,* and my wife is barren, *and hath attained the age of eight and ninety?*—He answered, *It shall be* thus. God will do what He pleaseth.—He said, O my Lord, give me a sign.—He replied, Thy sign [*shall be*] that thou shalt not speak unto men for three days, except by signal; but remember thy Lord often, and glorify [*Him*] in the evening and in the morning. (Chap. iii. vv. 33—36.)

¶ 3. And he went forth unto his people from the chamber, and made a sign unto them, [*as though he would say,*) Glorify [*God*] in the morning and in the evening, *as usual. And he knew, by his being prevented from speaking unto them, that his wife had conceived John. And after his birth, by some years, God said unto him,* O John, receive the book (*that is, the Law*), with

* Called in Arabic "Yahya." † Called in Arabic "'Eesa."

resolution. And we bestowed on him wisdom (*the gift of prophecy*) [*when he was yet*] a child, *three years of age*, and compassion from us *for mankind*, and [*a disposition to bestow*] alms *upon them*. And he was pious, and dutiful to his parents, and was not proud, [*nor*] rebellious *towards his Lord;* and peace *from us* [*was*] on him on the day when he was born, and on the day of his death, and [*shall be*] on the day when he shall be raised to life. (Chap. xix. vv. 12—15.)

¶ 4. And *remember* when the angels (*that is, Gabriel*) said, O Mary, verily God hath chosen thee, and hath purified thee, and hath chosen thee above the women of the peoples *of thy time*. O Mary, be devout towards thy Lord, and prostrate thyself and bow down with those who bow down: *pray with those who pray.*—This is [*one*] of the announcements of things unseen *by thee:* we reveal it unto thee, *O Mohammad;* for thou wast not with them when they cast their divining arrows, *that it might appear to them* which of them should rear Mary, and thou wast not with them when they disputed together *as to rearing her.—Remember* when the angels (*that is, Gabriel*) said, O Mary, verily God promiseth thee [*the*] Word, from Him; whose name [*shall be*] the Messiah,* Jesus the son of Mary, honourable in this world, *by his prophetic office*, and in the world to come, *by his intercession, and high stations*, and of those admitted near *unto God;* and he shall speak unto men in the cradle,† and when of full age,‡ and [*he shall be*

* In the Arabic "El-Meseeh."

† An instance of his doing so will be found in ¶ 6 of this section. Sale mentions other instances, and adds, "These seem all to have been taken from some fabulous traditions of the Eastern Christians, one of which is preserved to us in the spurious gospel of the Infancy of Christ; where we read that Jesus spoke

[‡ *For this note see next page.*] [while

one] of the righteous.—She said, O my Lord, how shall I have a son, when a man hath not touched me?—He answered, *It shall be* thus: God will create what He pleaseth: when he determineth a thing, He only saith unto it, Be,—and it is. And He will teach him writing and wisdom, and the Law, and the Gospel, and *constitute him* an apostle to the children of Israel, *in youth, or after adolescence.—And Gabriel breathed into the bosom of her shift; whereupon she conceived; and those events of her history which are related in the Soorat Maryam* happened.* Chap. iii. vv. 37—43.)

¶ 5. Relate, in the book (*that is, the Kur-án*), *the history of* Mary, when she retired from her family to a place towards the east, *in the house,* and she took a veil [*to conceal herself*] from them; and we sent unto her our spirit *Gabriel,* and he appeared unto her as a perfect man. She said, I beg the Compassionate to preserve me from thee! If thou be a pious person, *thou wilt withdraw from me.*—He replied, I am only the messenger of thy Lord [*to inform thee*] that He will give thee a pure son, *endowed with the gift of prophecy.* She said, How shall I have a son, when a man hath not touched me, and I am not a harlot? He answered, Thus *shall it be: a son shall be created unto thee without a father.* Thy Lord saith, This is easy unto me;

while yet in the cradle, and said to his mother, 'Verily I am Jesus the son of God, the word which thou hast brought forth, as the angel Gabriel did declare unto thee; and my Father hath sent me to save the world.'"[1]

‡ "That is, between thirty, or thirty-four, and fifty-one: and the passage may relate to Christ's preaching here on earth. But as he had scarce attained this age when he was taken up into heaven, the commentators choose to understand it of his second coming." (Sale.)

* The nineteenth chapter of the Kur-án.

[1] Evang. Infant. p. 5.

and *thus shall it be* that we may make him a sign unto men, *showing our power,* and a mercy from us *unto him who shall believe in him:* for it is a thing decreed.—And she conceived him; and she retired with him [*yet unborn*] to a distant place, *far from her family;* and the pains of childbirth urged her to repair to the trunk of a palm-tree, *that she might lean against it. And she gave birth to the child, which was conceived and formed and born in an hour.** She said, Oh! would that I had died before this *event,* and had been a thing forgotten [*and*] unnoticed!—But he who was below her (*namely, Gabriel, who was on a lower place than she*) called to her, Grieve not. God hath made below thee a rivulet: and shake thou towards thee the trunk of the palm-tree (*which was dried up*); it shall let fall upon thee ripe dates, fresh-gathered: therefore eat *of the dates,* and drink *of the water of the rivulet,* and be of cheerful eye *on account of the child:* and if thou see any one of mankind, *asking thee concerning the child,* say, I have vowed unto the Compassionate, an abstinence *from speech with mankind respecting him and other matters;* therefore I will not speak to-day unto a man *after this.* (Chap. xix. vv. 16—27.)

¶ 6. And she brought him [*namely the child*] unto her people, carrying him. They said, O Mary, thou hast done a strange thing. O sister of Aaron (*he was a righteous man; and the meaning is, O thou who art like him*

* "The age of the virgin Mary at the time of her conception was thirteen, or, as others say, ten; and she went six, seven, eight, or nine months with him, according to different traditions; though some say the child was conceived at its full growth of nine months, and that she was delivered of him within an hour after."[1] (Sale.)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee, and Yahya.

in chastity),* thy father was not a man of wickedness, nor was thy mother a harlot. *Then whence gottest thou this child?* — And she made a sign *to them,* [*pointing*] towards him [*namely the child, as though she would say,*] *Speak ye unto him.* They said, How shall we speak unto him who is in the cradle, an infant? He [*however*] said, Verily I am the servant of God:† He hath given me the book *of the Gospel,* and hath appointed me a prophet; and He hath made me blessed wherever I shall be, and hath commanded me to observe prayer and give alms as long as I shall live, and *hath made me* dutiful to my mother, and hath not made me proud, [*nor*] wicked. And peace *from God* [*was*] on me on the day when I was born, and [*will be*] on the day when I shall die, and on the day when I shall be raised to life.—This [*was*] Jesus the son of Mary. *I have spoken* the saying of truth, concerning which they (*namely the Christians*) doubt, *saying that Jesus is the son of God.* It is not [*meet*] for God to get a son. Extolled be his purity *from that* [*imputation*]! When he decreeth a thing *that He desireth to bring into existence,* He only saith unto it, Be,—and it is: *and thus He created Jesus the son of Mary without a father.*—And *say,* Verily God is my Lord

* "Some say the virgin Mary had really a brother named Aaron, who had the same father, but a different mother: others suppose Aaron the brother of Moses is here meant, but say Mary is called his sister either because she was of the Levitical race (as, by her having been related to Elizabeth, it should seem she was), or by way of comparison: others say that it was a different person of that name who was contemporary with her, and conspicuous for his good or bad qualities, and that they likened her to him either by way of commendation, or of reproach,"[1] &c. (Sale.)

† "These were the first words which were put into the mouth of Jesus, to obviate the imagination of his partaking of the divine nature, or having a right to the worship of mankind, on account of his miraculous speaking so soon after his birth."[2] (*Idem.*)

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[1] Ez-Zamakhsher'ee, El-Beyḍawee, Jelál-ed-Deen, Yahya, &c. [2] El-Beyḍawee.

and your Lord; therefore worship ye Him: this is a right way, *leading to paradise.* But the sects have differed among themselves; *that is, the Christians have differed concerning Jesus, as to whether he be the son of God, or a deity with Him, or the third of three.* And wo unto them who have disbelieved *in that which hath been stated, or in other matters,* on account of the assembly of a great day, *the day of resurrection, and its terrors.* How will they hear, and how *will they* see, on the day when they shall come unto us *in the world to come!* But the offenders to-day (*that is, in the present world*) are in a manifest error: *they are deaf, so that they hear not the truth; and blind, so that they see it not.* And do thou, *O Mohammad,* warn them (*namely the unbelievers of Mekkeh*) of the day of sighing (*the day of resurrection, when the evil-doer shall sigh for his having neglected to do good in the present world*), when the command *for their punishment* shall be fulfilled, while they (*in the present world*) are in a state of heedlessness *with respect to it,* and while they believe not *therein.* Verily we shall inherit the earth and whomsoever are upon it (*the heedless and others; they being destroyed);* and unto us shall they be brought back *to be recompensed.* (Chap. xix. vv. 28—41.)

¶ 7. *And when God sent him* [*namely Jesus*] *to the children of Israel, he said unto them, Verily I am the apostle of God unto you;* for I have come unto you with a sign from your Lord; for I will make for you, of earth, the similitude of a bird, and will breathe into it, and it shall be a bird,* by the permission (*or will*) of God;†

* It is related in the spurious gospel of the Infancy of Christ, that "Jesus being seven years old, and at play with several children of his age, they made

† *For this note see next page.*] [several

(*and he made for them a bat; for it is the most perfect of birds in make; and it flew, while they looked at it; but when it had gone out of their sight, it fell down dead;*) and I will cure the blind from his birth, and the leper; (*and he cured, in one day, fifty thousand, by prayer, on the condition of faith;*) and I will raise to life the dead, by the permission of God; (*this he repeated to deny his divinity; and he raised to life 'A'riz, [or Lazarus,] a friend of his; and a son of the old woman, and the daughter of the publican;* and they lived, and children were born to them; and Shem the son of Noah, who died immediately;*) and I will tell you what ye eat, and what ye store up in your houses. Verily therein will be a sign unto you, if ye be believers. And *I have come unto you as* a verifier of that which was before me, of the Law, and to make lawful unto you part of what was made unlawful to you *therein; (and he made lawful to them, of fish and fowls, whatsoever is without fin or spur; and it is said that he made lawful all, and that "part" is used in the sense of "the whole;)*† and I have come unto you with a sign from your Lord; therefore fear ye God, and obey me *in that which I command you, as to the confession of the unity of God, and the service of Him.* Verily God is my

several figures of birds and beasts, for their diversion, of clay; and each preferring his own workmanship, Jesus told them, that he would make his walk and leap; which, accordingly, at his command, they did. He made also several figures of sparrows and other birds, which flew about or stood on his hands as he ordered them, and also ate and drank when he offered them meat and drink. The children, telling this to their parents, were forbidden to play any more with Jesus, whom they held to be a sorcerer."[1] (Sale.)

† "The commentators observe, that these words are added..lest it should be thought Jesus did these miracles by his own power, or was God."[2] (*Idem.*)

* "I suppose," says Sale, "he means the ruler of the synagogue."

† See a note to ¶ 24 of § xvi.

[1] Evang. Infant. p. 111, &c. [2] El-Beyḍáwee, &c.

Lord and your Lord; therefore worship Him. This is [*the*] right way. *But they accused him of falsehood, and believed not in him.* And when Jesus perceived their unbelief, he said, Who [*will be*] my helpers for God? The apostles* answered, We [*will be*] the helpers of God. We have believed in God; and bear thou witness, *O Jesus,* that we are Muslims [*or resigned*]. O our Lord, we have believed in that which Thou hast sent down, *of the Gospel,* and we have followed the Apostle, *Jesus;* therefore write us down among those who bear witness *of thy unity, and of the truth of thine apostle.*—And they (*that is, the unbelievers among the children of Israel*) devised a stratagem *against Jesus, to slay him treacherously;* but God devised a stratagem *against them; for He put the likeness of Jesus upon one who intended his slaughter, and they slew him; and Jesus was taken up* [*into heaven*];†

* "In Arabic, 'el-Ḥawáreeyoon;' which word they derive from 'ḥára,' 'to be white,' [or rather, 'to whiten' clothes,] and suppose the apostles were so called either from the *candour* and *sincerity* of their minds, or because they were princes and wore white garments, or else because they were by trade fullers.[1] According to which last opinion, their vocation is thus related: That as Jesus passed by the sea-side, he saw some fullers at work, and, accosting them, said, 'Ye cleanse these clothes, but cleanse not your hearts;' upon which they believed on him. But the true etymology seems to be from the Ethiopic verb 'hawyra,' 'to go;' whence 'hawârya' signifies 'one that is sent,' a 'messenger,' or 'apostle.'"[2] (Sale.)

† "The person crucified, some will have to be a spy that was sent to entrap him; others, that it was one Titian, who by the direction of Judas entered in at a window of the house where Jesus was, to kill him; and others, that it was Judas himself, who agreed with the rulers of the Jews to betray him for thirty pieces of silver, and led those who were sent to take him.—They add, that Jesus, after his crucifixion in *effigie,* was sent down again to the earth, to comfort his mother and disciples, and acquaint them how the Jews were deceived; and was then taken up a second time into heaven.[3]

"It is supposed by several that this story was an original invention of Mohammad's; but they are certainly mistaken: for several sectaries held the same opi-

[1] El-Beyḍáwee, and Jelál-ed-Deen. [2] *Vide* Ludolfi Lexic. Æthiop. col. 40; and Golii notas ad cap. 61 Korani, p. 205. [3] *Vide* Marracc. in Alc. p. 113, &c.; and in Prodr. part iii. p. 63, &c.

and God is the best of those who devise stratagems. . . *It is related, that God sent a cloud to Jesus, and it took him up; but his mother clung unto him, and wept; whereupon he said unto her, Verily the resurrection will unite us. —It is also related, that he will descend shortly before the resurrection, and judge according to the law of our prophet [Mohammad], slay Antichrist and the swine, break the cross, and impose the capitation-tax [on unbelievers]. —Also, that he will remain, according to one tradition, seven years; according to another, forty years; and die, and be prayed over: but it is probable that [by the latter period] is meant the whole time of his tarrying upon the earth, before the ascension and after.* Chap. iii. vv. 43 —47.)

¶ 8. *Remember* when the apostle said, O Jesus, son of Mary, is thy Lord able to cause a table to descend unto us from heaven ?* He replied, Fear God, *if*

nion long before his time. The Basilidians,[1] in the very beginning of Christianity, denied that Christ himself suffered, but [asserted] that Simon the Cirenean was crucified in his place. The Corinthians before them, and the Carpocratians next, (to name no more of those who affirmed Jesus to have been a mere man), did believe the same thing; that it was not himself, but one of his followers, very like him, that was crucified. Photius tells us, that he read a book entitled 'The Journeys of the Apostles,' relating the acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul; and among other things contained therein, this was one, that Christ was not crucified, but another in his stead, and that therefore he laughed at his crucifiers,[2] or those who thought they had crucified him."[3] (Sale; who adds a similar but more full statement, from the apocryphal gospel of Barnabas, "a forgery originally of some nominal Christians, but interpolated since by Mohammadans.")

* "This miracle is thus related by the commentators. Jesus having, at the request of his followers, asked it of God, a red table immediately descended, in their sight, between two clouds, and was set before them; whereupon he rose up, and, having made the ablution, prayed, and then took off the cloth which covered the table, saying, 'In the name of God, the best provider of food.' What the provisions were, with which this table was furnished, is a matter wherein the expositors are not agreed. One will have them to be nine cakes of bread, and nine

[1] Irenæus, lib. i. c. 23, &c.; Epiphan. Hæres. xxiv. num. 3. [2] Photius, Bibl. Cod. 114, col. 291. [3] Toland's Nazarenus, p. 17. &c.

demanding signs, if ye be believers. They said, We desire that we may eat therefrom, and that our hearts may be at ease *in consequence of additional evidence*, and we may know, *with increased knowledge*, that thou hast spoken truth unto us *in asserting thyself to be a prophet*, and may be witnesses thereof.—Jesus the son of Mary said, O God, our Lord, cause a table to descend unto us from heaven, that it (*namely, the day of its descent*) may be unto us a festival,* unto the first of us and the last of us (*or those who shall come after us*), and a sign from Thee *of Thy power, and of my prophetic office;*

fishes; another, bread and flesh; another, all sorts of food except flesh; another, all sorts of food except bread and flesh; another, all except bread and fish; another, one fish which had the taste of all manner of food; another, fruits of paradise: but the most received tradition is, that when the table was uncovered, there appeared a fish ready dressed, without scales or prickly fins, dropping with fat, having salt placed at its head, and vinegar at its tail, and round it all sorts of herbs except leeks, and five loaves of bread, on one of which there were olives, on the second honey, on the third butter, on the fourth cheese, and on the fifth dried flesh. They add, that Jesus, at the request of the apostles, showed them another miracle, by restoring the fish to life, and causing its scales and fins to return to it; at which the standers-by being affrighted, he caused it to become as it was before: that one thousand three hundred men and women, all afflicted with bodily infirmities or poverty, ate of these provisions, and were satisfied; the fish remaining whole as it was at first: that then the table flew up to heaven in the sight of all; and every one who had partaken of this food were delivered from their infirmities and misfortunes: and that it continued to descend for forty days together, at dinner-time, and stood on the ground till the sun declined, and was then taken up into the clouds. Some of the Mohammadan writers are of opinion, that this table did not really descend, but that it was only a parable; but most think the words of the Kur-án are plain to the contrary. A further tradition is, that several men were changed into swine [and apes] for disbelieving this miracle, and attributing it to magic art; or, as others pretend, for stealing some of the victuals from off it.[1] Several other fabulous circumstances are also told, which are scarce worth transcribing."[2] (Sale.)

* "Some say the table *descended on a Sunday*, which was the reason of the Christians' observing that day as sacred. Others pretend this day is still kept among them as a very great festival; and it seems as if the story had its rise from an imperfect notion of Christ's last supper, and the institution of the Eucharist." (*Idem.*)

[1] El-Beydáwee, and Eth-Thaalebee. [2] *Vide* Marracc. in Alc. p. 238, &c.

and provide us with food *thereby;* for Thou art the best of providers.—God said, *in reply to him,* Verily I will cause it to descend unto you; but whosoever of you shall disbelieve after *its descent,* I will surely punish him with a punishment wherewith I will not punish any [*other*] of the peoples.—*And the angels descended with it from heaven: upon it were seven cakes of bread, and seven fishes; and they ate of them until they were satiated. And in a tradition related by Ibn-'Abbás, it is said that the table brought down from heaven bread and flesh, and they were commanded not to act deceitfully, nor to store up for the morrow; but they* [*that is, some of the people*] *did so, and were transformed into apes and swine.* (Chap. v. vv. 112—115.)

¶ 9. Propound unto them, as an example, the inhabitants of the city *of Antioch,* when the apostles *of Jesus* came unto it;* when we sent unto them two,†

* "To explain this passage, the commentators tell the following story.—The people of Antioch being idolaters, Jesus sent two of his disciples thither to preach to them: and when they drew near the city, they found Ḥabeeb, surnamed En-Nejjár, or The Carpenter, feeding sheep, and acquainted him with their errand; whereupon he asked them what proof they had of their veracity, and they told him they could cure the sick, and the blind, and the lepers; and to demonstrate the truth of what they said, they laid their hands on a child of his, who was sick, and immediately restored him to health. Ḥabeeb was convinced by this miracle, and believed; after which they went into the city and preached the worship of one true God, curing a great number of people of several infirmities: but at length, the affair coming to the prince's ear, he ordered them to be imprisoned, for endeavouring to seduce the people. When Jesus heard of this, he sent another of his disciples, generally supposed to have been Simon Peter; who, coming to Antioch, and appearing as a zealous idolater, soon insinuated himself into the favour of the inhabitants and of their prince, and at length took an opportunity to desire the prince would order the two persons who, as he was informed, had been put in prison for broaching new opinions, to be brought before him to be examined; and accordingly they were brought: when Peter, having previously warned them to take no notice that they knew him, asked them who sent them; to which they answered, God, who had created all things, and had no companion. He then required some convincing proof of their mission, upon which they restored a blind

† [*For this note see next page.*] [person

and they charged them with falsehood; wherefore we strengthened *them* with a third;* and they said, Verily we are sent unto you. They replied, Ye are not [*aught*] save men, like us, and the Compassionate hath not revealed any thing: ye do nothing but lie. They said, Our Lord knoweth that we are indeed sent unto you; and nought is imposed on us but the delivering of a plain message, *shown to be true by manifest proofs, namely, the cure of him who hath been born blind, and of the leper and the sick, and the raising of the dead.* [*The people of Antioch*] said, Verily we presage evil from you; *for the rain is withheld from us on your account:* if ye desist not, we will assuredly stone you, and a painful punishment shall surely betide you from us. [*The apostles*] replied, Your evil luck is with you, *because of your unbelief.* If ye have been warned, *will ye presage evil, and disbelieve?* Nay, ye are an exorbitant people.—And there came, from the furthest part of the city a man (*namely, Habeeb the carpenter, who had believed in the apostles*) running: he said, O my people, follow the apostles: follow those who ask not of you a recompense, and who are rightly directed. *And it was said unto him, Art thou of their religion? He replied,*

person to his sight, and performed some other miracles, with which Peter seemed not to be satisfied, for that, according to some, he did the very same miracles himself, but declared that if their God could enable them to raise the dead, he would believe them; which condition the two apostles accepting, a lad was brought who had been dead seven days, and at their prayers he was raised to life; and thereupon Peter acknowledged himself convinced, and ran and demolished the idols, a great many of the people following him, and embracing the true faith; but those who believed not were destroyed by the cry of the angel Gabriel." [1] (Sale.)

† "Some say these two were John and Paul; but others name different persons." (*Idem.*)

* Namely Simon Peter.

[1] Ez-Zamakshcrée, El-Beyḍáwee, &c. *Vide etiam* Marracc. in Alc., p. 580.

And why should I not worship Him who hath created me, and unto whom ye shall be brought back *after death?* Shall I take deities beside Him? If the Compassionate be pleased to afflict me, their intercession will not avert from me aught, nor will they deliver. Verily, in that case (*if I worshipped aught but God*), I should be in a manifest error. Verily I believe in your Lord; Therefore hear ye me.—*But they stoned him, and he died;** *and* it was said *unto him, at his death,* Enter thou into paradise. *And it is said that he entered it alive.* He said, Oh, would that my people knew my Lord's forgiveness of me, and his having made me [*one*] of those who are honoured?—And we sent not down against his people, after him (*that is, after his death*), an army *of angels* from heaven *to destroy them,* nor were we sending down *angels to destroy any one.* It (*namely, their punishment*) was nought but one cry *which Gabriel uttered against them;* and lo, they were extinct. (Chap. xxxvi. vv. 12—28.)

¶ 10. *We have cursed the Jews . . .* for their disbelief *in Jesus,* and their uttering against Mary a great calumny, and their saying, We have killed the Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, the apostle of God,—Yet they killed him not, nor crucified him; but one (*namely, the person whom they crucified*) was made to appear to them like *Jesus;*† and verily those who disagreed respecting him were in doubt concerning him, *or his slaughter; for some of them said, when they saw the slain person, The face is the face of Jesus; but the body is not his*

* "His tomb is still shown near Antioch, and is much visited by the Mohammadans."[1] (Sale.)

† See a note to ¶ 7 of this section.

[1] *Vide* Schultens, Indic. Geogr. ad calcem Vitæ Saladini, *voce* Antiochia.

*body:—and others said, It is he:**—they had no knowledge of him; but only followed an opinion. And they did not really kill him; but God took him up unto Himself; and God is mighty [*and*] wise. And there is not of the people of the Scripture *one* but he shall assuredly believe in him (*namely, Jesus*) before his death; *that is, before his own death, or before the death of Jesus, when he descendeth shortly before the resurrection;*† and on the day of resurrection, he (*namely, Jesus*) shall be a witness against them. (Chap. iv. vv. 155—157.)

¶ 11. When God shall say, *on the day of resurrection,* O Jesus, son of Mary, hast thou said unto men, Take me and my mother as two deities, beside God?—*Jesus* shall answer, *after being agitated* (*or after it shall*

* Also "some said he was taken up into heaven; and others, that his manhood only suffered, and that his godhead ascended into heaven."[1] (Sale.)

† "Some, referring the relative *his* to the first antecedent, take the meaning to be, that no Jew or Christian shall die before he believes in Jesus: for they say, that when one of either of those religions is ready to breath his last, and sees the angel of death before him, he shall then believe in that prophet as he ought, though his faith will not then be of any avail. According to a tradition of El-Ḥajjáj, when a Jew is expiring, the angels will strike him on the back and face, and say to him, 'O thou enemy of God, Jesus was sent as a prophet unto thee, and thou didst not believe on him;' to which he will answer, 'I now believe him to be the servant of God:' and to a dying Christian they will say, 'Jesus was sent as a prophet unto thee, and thou hast imagined him to be God, or the son of God;' whereupon he will believe him to be the servant of God only, and his apostle.—Others, taking the above-mentioned relative to refer to Jesus, suppose the intent of the passage to be, that all Jews and Christians in general [the dead being raised to life in their graves,] shall have a right faith in that prophet before his death, that is, when he descends from heaven and returns into the world, where he is to kill Antichrist, and to establish the Moḥammadan religion, [or rather El-Islám,] and a most perfect tranquillity and security on earth," [where he will remain forty years, and then die.—Others again suppose, that the words 'believe in him' signify 'believe in God.'][2] (*Idem.*)

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[1] El-Beyḍáwee. Jelál-ed-Deen, Yaḥya, Ez-Zamakhsher'ee, and El-Beyḍáwee.

have thundered), Extolled be thy purity *from the imputation of aught that is unsuitable to Thee, as the having a partner, and other things!* It is not for me to say that which is not right for me. Had I said it, Thou hadst known it. Thou knowest what is in me; but I know not what is in Thee; for Thou well knowest things unseen. I said not unto them aught but that which Thou commandedst me; *namely*, Worship ye God, my Lord and your Lord;—and I was a watcher over them, *commanding them to abstain from what they said*, while I remained among them: but since Thou hast taken me to thyself,* Thou hast been the watcher over them, and Thou art the witness of all things. If thou punish them (*that is, such of them as have continued in unbelief*), they are thy servants, *and Thou mayest do with them as Thou pleasest;* and if Thou forgive them (*that is, such of them as have believed*), Thou art the Mighty, the Wise. (Chap. v. vv. 116—118.)

¶ 12. When the son of Mary was proposed as an instance (*when the saying of God was revealed, Verily ye and what ye worship beside God* [*shall be*] *fuel of hell*,†—*and the polytheists said, We are content for our gods to be with Jesus, for he hath been worshipped beside God*),‡ lo, thy people, *the polytheists*, cried out *in joy* thereat, and they said, [*Are*] our gods better, or [*is*] he? *We are content for our gods to be with him.*—They proposed not

* "It is a dispute among the Mohammadans whether Christ actually died or not, before his assumption."[1] (Sale.)

† Ḳur-án, chap. xxi. v. 98.

‡ "Some, however, are of opinion it [namely this passage] might have been revealed in answer to certain idolaters, who said that the Christians, who received the Scriptures, worshipped Jesus, supposing him to be the son of God; whereas the angels were more worthy of that honour than he."[2] (*Idem.*)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee. [2] *Idem.*

it (*namely, the instance*) unto thee otherwise than as a cause of dispute (*knowing that the word "what" applieth to that which is not endowed with reason; so that it doth not reflect upon Jesus, on whom be peace!*): yea, they are a contentious people. He (*namely Jesus*) is no other than a servant whom we favoured *with the gift of prophecy;* and we proposed him, *by reason of his having come into existence without a father,* as an instance *of the divine power* unto the children of Israel. And if we pleased, we would substitute for you angels to succeed in the earth.* And verily he (*namely Jesus*) *shall be* a sign of the [*last*] hour:† *it shall be known by his descending:* wherefore doubt not thereof.—And *say unto them,* Follow ye me *in confessing the unity of God:* this, *which I command you to follow,* is a right way. And let not the devil turn you away *from the religion of God;* for he is unto you a manifest enemy.—And when Jesus came with manifest proofs (*with miracles and ordinances*), he said, I have come unto you with wisdom (*with prophecy and with the ordinances of the gospel*), and to explain unto you part of [*the things*] concerning which ye

* "As easily as we produced Jesus without a father.[1] The intent of the words is to show how just and reasonable it is to think, that the angels should bear the relation of children to men, rather than to God; they being his creatures, as well as men, and equally in his power." (Sale.)

† "For some time before the resurrection, Jesus is to descend on earth, according to the Mohammadans, near Damascus, or, as some say, near a rock, [or rather a mountain-road,] named ['Akabet] Afeck, with a lance in his hand, wherewith he is to kill Antichrist, whom he will encounter at Ludd, or Lydda, a small town not far from Joppa. They add, that he will arrive at Jerusalem at the time of morning-prayer, that he shall perform his devotions after the Mohammadan institution, and officiate instead of the Imám, who shall give place to him; that he will break down the cross, and destroy the churches of the Christians, of whom he will also make a general slaughter, excepting only such as shall profess El-Islám, &c."[1] (*Idem.*)

[1] El-Beydáwee.

disagree: therefore fear ye God, and obey me. Verily God is my Lord and your Lord; wherefore worship ye Him: this is a right way.—But the parties disagreed among themselves *respecting Jesus, whether he were God, or the son of God, or the third of three;* and wo unto them who transgressed *in that which they said respecting Jesus,* because of the punishment of an afflictive day! (Chap. xliii. vv. 57—65.)

¶ 13. Verily the similitude of Jesus, in the sight of God, is as the similitude of Adam. He created him, (*namely Adam*) of earth: then he said unto him, Be,—and he was. *In like manner, he said unto Jesus, Be, without a father,—and he was. This is* the truth from thy Lord: therefore be not thou of those who doubt. And whosoever *of the Christians* argueth with thee respecting him, after the knowledge that hath come unto thee *concerning him,* say, Come ye, let us call our sons and your sons, and our wives and your wives, and ourselves and yourselves *will assemble:* then we will invoke, and will lay the curse of God on those who lie, *saying, O God, curse the liar respecting the nature of Jesus!—And the prophet invited a company from Nejrán to do so, when they had argued with him respecting Jesus; and they said,* [*Wait*] *until we consider our case: then we will come unto thee. And their counsellor said, Ye know his prophetic office, and that no people have execrated a prophet but they have perished. They however quieted the man, and departed, and came unto the prophet. And he had come forth, having with him El-Ḥasan and El-Ḥoseyn and Fáṭimeh and 'Alee; and he said unto them, When I pray, say ye, Amen. But they refused to execrate, and made peace with him on the condition of their paying tribute.*—Verily this is indeed the true history, and there is no deity but

God, and verily God is indeed the Mighty, the Wise. (Chap. iii. vv. 52—55.)

¶ 14. O people of the Scripture (*that is, of the Gospel*) exceed not the just bounds in your religion,* nor say, of God [*aught*] but the truth. The Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, [*was*] only the apostle of God, and his Word, which he transmitted unto Mary, and a spirit (*that is, a being possessing a spirit*) from Him. (*He is mentioned in conjunction with God, in order to show him honour, and is not, as ye assert, the son of God, or a God with Him, or the third of three; for the being possessing a spirit is compound, and the Deity must be confessed to be pure from the imputation of composition, and the relationship of a compound being to Him.*) Therefore believe in God and his apostles, and say not, *There are* three *deities, God, and Jesus, and his mother.*† Abstain *from this, and say what will be* better for you; *that is, assert the unity of God.* God is only one deity. Extolled be his purity from the imputation of his having a son! To Him belongeth whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth; and God is a sufficient witness *thereof.* The Messiah doth not disdain to be a servant unto God, nor do the angels who are admitted near *unto Him.* (Chap. iv. vv. 169 and 170.)

* "Either by rejecting and contemning of Jesus, as the Jews do; or raising him to an equality with God, as do the Christians."[1] (Sale.)

† "For the eastern writers mention a sect of Christians which held the Trinity to be composed of those three;[2] but it is allowed that this heresy has been long since extinct.[3] The passage however is equally levelled against the Holy Trinity, according to the doctrine of the orthodox Christians, who, as El-Beyḍáwee acknowledges, believe the divine nature to consist of three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; by the Father, understanding God's essence; by the Son, his knowledge; and by the Holy Ghost, his life." (*Idem.*)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee. [2] Elmacini Hist. Saracen. p. 227; Eutych. p. 120. See Intr. § ii. ¶ 3. [3] Aḥmad Ibn-'Abd-El-Ḥaleem.

§ XXII. Of the Flood of El-'Arim.

There was, unto Seba (*a tribe named after an ancestor of theirs, of the Arabs*),* in their habitations *in El-Yemen*, a sign *indicative of the power of God; namely*, two gardens, on the right *of their river* and on the left; *and it was said unto them*, Eat ye of the provision of your Lord, and be thankful unto Him *for his favours. The land of Seba is* a good country (*in it was no salt ground, nor a gnat nor a fly, nor a flea nor a scorpion, nor a serpent, and the stranger passed along in it having lice in his garments, and they died by reason of the sweetness of its air*), and *God is* a very forgiving Lord. But they turned away *from being thankful;* wherefore we sent against them the flood of El-'Arim (*or the dams: that is, their river, which had been dammed up, poured down,* [*bursting the dams,*] *submerging their gardens and goods*).†. And we gave them in exchange, for their two gardens, two gardens having bitter fruit, and tamarisks, and some few lote-trees. This we gave them in reward for their ingratitude. And do we *thus* reward [*any*] save the un-

* "Seba was the son of Yeshjub, the son of Yaarub, the son of Ḳaḥṭán, whose posterity dwelt in El-Yemen, in the city of Ma-rib, called also Seba, about three days' journey from Ṣan'a." (Sale.)

† See the Introduction, § i. ¶ 19.

grateful? And we placed between them and the cities which we have blessed *with water and trees (namely the cities of Syria), unto which they used to journey for the sake of commerce,* conspicuous cities, *adjacent one to another, from El-Yemen to Syria,* and made the journeying through them practicable, *so that the travellers might enjoy the noon-day-sleep in one, and pass the night in another, unto the end of their journey, without requiring to carry water and food. And we said,* Journey through them nights and days in security, *without fear.* But they said, O our Lord, put a distance between our journeys *unto Syria, making the [intervening] tract deserts;—that they might take advantage of the poor by [rendering necessary] the riding of camels, and carrying food and water;* and they acted unjustly to their own selves *by ingratitude;* wherefore we made them subjects of discourse *to their posterity,* and dispersed them with a total dispersion.* Verily therein [*are*] signs unto every one who habitually refraineth *from transgressions, and is* grateful. (Chap. xxxiv. vv. 14—18.)

* "For the neighbouring nations justly wondered at so sudden and unforeseen a revolution in the affairs of this once flourishing people: whence it became a proverbial saying, to express a total dispersion, that 'they were gone and scattered like Seba.'" [1] (Sale.)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee. *Vide* Gol. not. in Alfrag. p. 87.

§ XXIII. Of Moḥammad and the Ḳur-án.

¶ 1. *Remember* when Jesus the son of Mary said, O children of Israel, verily I am the apostle of God unto you, confirming the Law which [*was*] before me, and giving good tidings of an apostle who shall come after me, whose name [*shall be*] Aḥmad.* But, *saith God,* when he (*Aḥmad*) came unto them (*namely the unbelievers*), with evident proofs, they said, This *wherewith he hath come* is manifest magic. And who is more unjust than he who forgeth falsehood against God, *by attributing a partner and a son unto Him, and describing his signs* [*the verses of the Ḳur-án*] *as magic,* when he is invited unto El-Islám? And God directeth not the unjust people. They desire to extinguish the light of God with their mouths; but God will perfect his light, though the unbelievers be averse *thereto.* It is He who hath sent his apostle with the direction and the religion of

* "For Moḥammad also bore the name of 'Aḥmad;' both names being derived from the same root, and nearly of the same signification. The Persian paraphrast, to support what is here alleged, quotes the following words of Christ, 'I go to my father, and the Paraclete shall come;'[1] the Moḥammadan doctors unanimously teaching, that by the Paraclete (or, as they choose to read it, the Periclyte, or Illustrious) their prophet is intended, and no other." (Sale.)

[1] See John, xvi. 7, &c.

truth, that He may exalt it above every religion *that is contrary to it*, though the polytheists be averse *thereto*. (Chap. lxi. vv. 6—9.)

¶ 2. Those unto whom we have given the Scripture know him (*namely Moḥammad*) as they know their children, *by the description of him in their books.* (*Ibn-Selám said, Verily I knew him, when I saw him, as I know my son; and my knowledge of Moḥammad was more valid.*) But a party of them do conceal the truth (*the description of him*) while they know. (Chap. ii. v. 141.)

¶ 3. *The Jews said unto the Muslims, We are the people of the first Book,* [*namely the Pentateuch,*] *and our kibleh* is the more ancient; and the prophets have not been of the Arabs; and if Moḥammad were a prophet, he had been of us.—Therefore* [*the following*] *was revealed:* —Say *unto them,* Do ye argue with us concerning God, *as to his having chosen a prophet from among the Arabs,* when He is our Lord and your Lord, *so that He may choose of his servants whom He pleaseth;* and when we have our works (*for which we shall be recompensed*) and ye have your works (*wherefore it is not improbable that there may be in our works that for which we deserve honour*); and when we are sincere towards Him *in religion and actions, above you; therefore we are more worthy of the choice?* Nay, do ye say that Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes were Jews or Christians?—Say *unto them,* Are ye more knowing, or is God? —*That is, God is more knowing; and He hath acquitted Abraham of belonging to them, by his saying, Abraham was not a Jew nor a Christian;*†—*and the other persons above mentioned with him were followers of him.*—And

* The point to which we turn our faces in praying.

† Kur-án, chap. iii. v. 60.

who is more unjust than they who conceal a testimony that they have from God?—*That is, no one is more unjust than they; and they are the Jews, who have concealed the testimony of God, in the Pentateuch, of Abraham's orthodoxy.*—But God is not heedless of that which ye do.—Chap. ii. vv. 133 and 134.)

¶ 4. Verily we have revealed unto thee, [*O Moḥammad,*] as we revealed unto Noah and the prophets after him, and *as* we revealed unto Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes, and Jesus and Job and Jonas and Aaron and Solomon; and we gave unto David the Psalms. (Chap. iv. v. 161.)

¶ 5. Say *unto them,* [*O Moḥammad,*] I do not say unto you, In my possession are the treasures of God;—nor [*do I say*], I know what is unseen *by me, and not revealed unto me;*—nor do I say unto you, Verily I am an angel. I follow not [*aught*] but what is revealed unto me. (Chap. vi. v. 50.)

¶ 6. Moḥammad is nought but an apostle. The apostles have passed away before him. Then if he die or be slain, *like others,* will ye turn round upon your heels *to unbelief?* But he who turneth round upon his heels will not injure God at all: *he will only injure himself:* and God will reward the thankful. (Chap. iii. v. 138.)

¶ 7. *The Jews said unto Moḥammad,* Verily God hath enjoined us, *in the Law,* that we should not believe an apostle until he bring us a sacrifice which fire shall devour. *Therefore we will not believe thee until thou bring it us.*—(*For formerly, a white fire came from heaven, and burned it, or else it remained in its place. And this was enjoined the children of Israel, excepting in*

*the cases of the Messiah and Mohammad.)** *God replieth,* Say, *unto them, by way of reproach,* Apostles have come unto you before me with manifest proofs, (*or miracles*), and with that which ye have mentioned, *as Zechariah and John, and ye slew them.* (*The address is to those in the time of our prophet, though the actions were their forefathers', because of their approval.*) Then wherefore did ye slay them, if ye be speakers of truth? (Chap. iii. vv. 179 and 180.)

¶ 8. *When the people of Mekkeh asked him* [*namely Mohammad*] *to enlarge it, or to make Es-Safa*† *to be gold,* [*the following*] *was revealed:* — Nay, do ye desire to ask your apostle as Moses was asked *by his people* formerly, *when they said, Show us God manifestly,—and other things?* But he who taketh in exchange infidelity for belief, *by abstaining from considering the evident signs, and by importunately demanding other things,* hath erred from the right way. (Chap. ii. v. 102.)

* "The Arabian Jews seem to have drawn a general consequence from some particular instances of this miracle in the Old Testament.[1] And the Jews at this day say, that first the fire which fell from heaven on the altar of the tabernacle,[2] after the consecration of Aaron and his sons, and afterwards that which descended on the altar of Solomon's Temple, at the dedication of that structure,[3] was fed and constantly maintained there by the priests, both day and night, without being suffered once to go out, till it was extinguished, as some think, in the reign of Manassees;[4] but according to the more received opinion, when the Temple was destroyed by the Chaldeans. Several Christians[5] have given credit to this assertion of the Jews, with what reason I shall not here inquire; and the Jews in consequence of this notion, might probably expect, that a prophet who came to restore God's true religion should rekindle for them this heavenly fire, which they have not been favoured with since the Babylonish captivity." (Sale.)

† A slight eminence adjacent to the Temple of Mekkeh.

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[1] Lev. ix. 24. 1 Chron. xxi. 26. 2 Chron. vii. 1. 1 Kings, xviii. 38.
[2] Lev. ix. 24. [3] 2. Chron. vii. 1. [4] Talmud, Zebachim, c. 6. [5] See Prideaux's Connect. part I. book iii. p. 158.

¶ 9. Those who know not (*namely the unbelievers of Mekḳeh*) say *unto the prophet*, Will not God speak unto us, *telling us that thou art his apostle;* or a sign come unto us, *giving us the proof which we have demanded, of thy truth?* Thus said those who were before them, (*the unbelievers of former peoples, to their prophets*) the like of that which they say: their hearts resemble each other. We have made manifest the signs to a people who firmly believe. Verily we have sent thee, *O Mohammad*, with the truth, an announcer of glad tidings (*tidings of paradise*) *unto him who assenteth thereto*, and an announcer of bad tidings (*tidings of the fire*) *unto him who assenteth not thereto;* and thou shalt not be questioned respecting the companions of hell, *wherefore it is that they will not believe.* (Chap. ii. vv. 112—113.)

¶ 10. *The unbelievers of Mekḳeh* have sworn by God, with the most studied of their oaths, that if a sign, *such as they have demanded*, come unto them, they will assuredly believe therein. Say *unto them*, Signs are only with God: *He will send them down as He pleaseth, and I am only a preacher.*—And what will make you to know *their belief if the signs come?* Verily,* if they come, they will not believe. And we will turn away their hearts and their eyes *from the truth; so that they shall not believe*, as they believed not therein (*that is, in the signs sent down*) the first time; and we will leave them in their transgression, wandering about in perplexity. And though we had sent down unto them the angels, and the dead had spoken unto them, *as they had demanded*, and we had gathered together about them everything in tribes, they had not believed,†

* The copies of the original differ here; but not in an important manner.

† See Luke, xvi. 31; referred to by Sale.

unless God had pleased: but the greater number of them know not *that.* (Chap. vi. vv. 109—111.)

¶ 11. *The unbelievers of Mekkeh* have said *unto the prophet,* O thou unto whom the admonition (*that is, the Ḳur-án*) hath been sent down, *as thou pretendest,* thou art certainly possessed by a jinnee [*or art mad*]. Why dost thou not come unto us with the angels, if thou be of those who speak truth?—*God replieth,* We send not down the angels save with justice (*that is, with punishment*), nor would they then be respited. Verily we have sent down the admonition (*namely the Ḳur-án*), and we will certainly preserve it *from alteration and pervertion, and addition, and diminution.* And we have sent *apostles* before thee among the sects of the former generations; and there came not unto them any apostle but they derided him, *as thy people deride thee.* In like manner, *as we have put it into the hearts of those to charge with falsehood,* we will put it into the hearts of the sinners *of Mekkeh to do so:* they shall not believe in him (*namely, the prophet*); and the punishment of the former generations hath passed. And if we should open over them a gate in heaven, and they should pass the day ascending to it, they would say, Our eyes are only intoxicated, or rather we are a people enchanted. (Chap. xv. vv. 6—15.)

¶ 12. Their reckoning *on the day of resurrection* hath drawn nigh unto the people *of Mekkeh, who deny the resurrection,* while they are in a state of heedlessness *with respect to it,* turning away *from preparing for it by faith.* No admonition cometh unto them from their Lord, produced *by little and little in the words of the Ḳur-án,* but they listen to it making game *of it,* their hearts disregarding *its meaning;* and those who have

offended utter the secret saying, Is this *Moḥammad* [*aught*] save a man like unto you? Will ye then come to *follow* sorcery, when ye perceive *that it is sorcery?*— Say *unto them*, My Lord knoweth what is said in heaven and on earth; for He is the Hearer, the Knower. But they have said, *respecting that which he hath brought, of the Kur-an*, It is the confused fancies of dreams: nay, he hath forged it: nay, he is a poet, *and that which he hath brought, is poetry:* therefore let him come unto us with a sign, like as the former [*apostles*] were sent; *such as the she-camel* [*of Ṣáleh*],* *and the rod and the* [*white*] *hand* [*of Moses*†]. *God saith*, None of the cities which we have destroyed *for charging the signs with falsehood* believed before them. Then will they believe? *Nay.* And we have not sent before thee [*any*] save men, unto whom we spake in revelation: *not angels.* Therefore ask ye the people of the Scripture (*the learned in the Law and the Gospel,*) if ye know not *this.* And we made them not bodies which ate not food, nor were they immortal *in the present world.* Then we faithfully kept our promise to them, and delivered them and those whom we pleased, and destroyed the transgressors. We have sent down unto you, *O tribe of Kureysh*, a book in which is a commemoration of you; *for it is in your language.* Will ye not then understand, *and believe therein?* And how many a city have we destroyed, which was unrighteous, and established after it another people! And when they felt our severity, lo, they fled swiftly from it, [*namely, the city;*] *but the angels said unto them, in derision*, Flee not, but return unto that wherein ye were blessed with the comforts of life, and your habitations:

* See § x. ¶ 2. † See § xvi. ¶ 6 & 8.

peradventure ye will be asked *for something of your worldly goods, as usual.* They said, Oh, our woe! Verily we were offenders!*—And this ceased not to be their cry until we made them *like* reaped corn, extinct. (Chap. xxi. vv. 1—15.)

¶ 13. Say, Verily if mankind and the jinn assembled together for the purpose of producing the like of this Ḳur-án *in eloquence,* they could not produce the like of it, although some of them assisted others. And we have explained unto men, in this Ḳur-án, every *kind of* parable, *that they may be admonished;* but the greater number of men (*that is, the people of Mekḳeh*) have refused [*every thing*] save unbelief, and have said, We will by no means believe in thee until thou cause a fountain to gush forth for us from the earth; or thou have a garden of palm-trees and grapes, and thou cause rivers to spring forth in the midst of it in abundance; or thou cause heaven to fall down upon us, as thou hast pretended, in pieces; or thou bring God and the angels before *us, so that we may see them;* or thou have a house of gold; or thou ascend into heaven *by a ladder;* and we will not believe thine ascending until thou cause a book to descend unto us *thence, containing an assurance of thy truth,* which we may read.—Say *unto them,* extolled be the perfection of my Lord! (*This is an expression of wonder.*) Am I [*aught*] save a man, [*sent as*] an apostle, *like the rest of the apostles, who brought not a sign save by the permission of God?* And nothing hath hindered men from believing, when

* "It is related that a prophet was sent to the inhabitants of certain towns in El-Yemen; but instead of hearkening to his remonstrances, they killed him: upon which God delivered them into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, who put them to the sword; a voice at the same time crying from heaven, 'Vengeance for the blood of the prophets!' Upon which they repented, and used the words of this passage." (Sale.)

the direction hath come unto them, but their saying, Hath God sent a man as an apostle, *and not sent an angel?* Say *unto them,* If there were upon the earth, *instead of mankind,* angels walking at ease, we had sent down unto them from heaven an angel as an apostle; *for no apostle is sent unto a people but one of their own kind, that they may be able to discourse with him, and familiarly associate with him.* Say, God is a sufficient witness between me and you, *to attest my veracity;* for He knoweth and seeth his servants. (Chap. xvii. vv. 90—98.)

¶ 14. If ye be in doubt, [*O men of Mekkeh,*] concerning that which we have sent down unto our servant *Moḥammad, of the Ḳur-án, as to its being from God,* produce a chapter like it *in eloquence, and beauty of composition, and information concerning what is unseen;* and invoke your witnesses, *your deities whom ye worship* exclusively of God, *that they may aid you,* if ye be speakers of truth *in your assertion that Moḥammad uttered it from his own mind. Do this; for ye are eloquent Arabs like him.* But if ye do *it* not (and ye shall not do *it*), fear the fire whose fuel is men (*that is, unbelievers*) and stones (*such as their idols*): *the meaning whereof is, that it is of excessive heat, being kindled with what hath been mentioned; not like the fire of this world, which is kindled with wood and the like:* it is prepared for the unbelievers. (Chap. ii. vv. 21 and 22.)

¶ 15. This Ḳur-án is not a forgery, of one who is not God; but *it hath been sent down* as a confirmation of those *books which have been* before it, and an explanation of the scripture, there is no doubt thereof, from the Lord of the worlds. Do they say, He (*that is, Moḥammad*) hath forged it? Reply, Then bring ye a chapter like it, and call, *to assist you,* whom ye can, preferably to God, if ye speak truth. (*But they could not.*) Nay, they

have charged with falsehood that which they comprehend not; and the explanation thereof (*the result of the threat that it containeth*) hath not yet come unto them. In like manner did those who were before them charge *their apostles* with falsehood; but see how was the end of the offenders. (Chap. x. vv. 38—40.)

¶ 16. *When the unbelievers cavilled at abrogation, and said, Moḥammad commandeth his companions to-day to do a thing, and forbiddeth it to-morrow,—*[*the following*] *was revealed:*—Whatever verse we abrogate, *whether with its words or not,* or cause *thee* to forget, we will produce one better than it, *more profitable to the servants* [*of God*], *in easiness or in abundance of reward,* or like it *in the obligations it shall impose, and in recompense.* Dost thou not know that God is able to do all things, *and among these things to abrogate and to substitute?* Dost thou not know that to God belongeth the dominion of the heavens and the earth, *that He may do in them what He pleaseth,* and that ye have not, beside God, any protector or defender? (Chap. ii. vv. 100 and 101.)

¶ 17. When we substitute a verse in lieu of a verse, *by abrogating the latter, and revealing the former,* (and God best knoweth what He revealeth,) *the unbelievers* say *unto the prophet,* Thou art only a forger:—but the greater number of them know not *the truth of the Ḳur-án, and the advantage of abrogation.* Say *unto them,* The holy spirit, *Gabriel,* hath brought it down from thy Lord with truth, to confirm those who have believed, and as a direction and good tidings unto the Muslims. And we well know that they say, Only a man (*namely, a Christian slave, whom the prophet used to visit*) teacheth him *the Ḳur-án. God saith,* The tongue of him unto whom they incline is foreign, and this *in which the Ḳur-án is*

written is the perspicuous Arabic tongue.* (Chap. xvi. vv. 103—105.)

¶ 18. Say, If the sea were ink, for *writing* the words of my Lord, *showing his wisdom and his wonderful works,* the sea would be exhausted *in writing them,* before the words of my Lord would be exhausted, and [*so would be the case*] if we produced the like thereof as a further supply. (Chap. xviii. v. 109.)

* "This was a great objection made by the Mekkans to the authority of the Ḳur-án; for when Moḥammad insisted, as a proof of its divine original, that it was impossible a man so utterly unacquainted with learning as himself could compose such a book, they replied, that he had one or more assistants in the forgery; but as to the particular person or persons suspected of this confederacy, the traditions differ." (Sale.)

The opinions of the Christians on this subject are, as Sale has shown, improbable; wherefore they are not here stated.

§ XXIV. Of Believers and Unbelievers, their Conduct and Characters.

¶ 1. Your turning your faces *in prayer* towards the east and the west is not piety: (*this was revealed in reply to the Jews and the Christians, seeing that they asserted this to be the case:*) but the pious is he who believeth in God and the last day, and in the angels and the Scripture and the prophets, and who giveth money, notwithstanding his love *of it*, to relations and orphans, and to the needy and the son of the road (*that is, the traveller*), and to the askers, and for *the liberation of* slaves (*those who have contracted with their masters for their liberty, and captives*), and who performeth prayer and giveth the legal alms *ordained by God as indispensable* (*and what precedes* [*the mention of prayer and alms*] *respects the doing of actions to which one is not obliged*); and [*the pious are*] those who perform their covenant when they covenant *with God or men*, and the patient in adversity (*or excessive poverty*) and affliction (*or disease*) and in the time of violence *in fighting in the way of God.* These are they who have been true *in their belief, and in their profession of piety;* and these are they who fear *God.* (Chap. ii. v. 172.)

¶ 2. Verily those who have believed *in the prophets formerly,* and those who have become Jews, and the Christians, and the Sabians, whosoever *of them* hath believed in God and the last day *in the time of our prophet*), and done that which is right (*according to his law*), they shall have their reward (*the recompense of their actions*) with their Lord, and *there shall come* no fear on them, nor shall they grieve.* (Chap. ii. v. 59.).

¶ 3. Whosoever desireth any other religion than El-Islám, it shall not be accepted of him, and he [*shall be*], in the world to come, of those who perish. (Chap. iii. v. 79.)

¶ 4. The similitude of those who have disbelieved, *and him who inviteth them to the true religion,* is as the similitude of him who crieth out to that which heareth not [*aught*] save a calling and a voice. *That is, in hear-*

* "From these words, which are repeated in the fifth chapter, several writers[1] have wrongly concluded that the Mohammadans hold it to be the doctrine of their prophet, that every man may be saved in his own religion, provided he be sincere and lead a good life. It is true some of their doctors do agree this to be the purport of the words;[2] but then they say the latitude hereby granted was soon revoked, for that this passage is abrogated by several others in the Kur-án, which expressly declare, that none can be saved who is not of the Mohammadan faith; and particularly by those words of the third chapter [which are given in the next paragraph[3]]..However, others are of opinion that this passage is not abrogated, but interpret it differently; taking the meaning of it to be, that no man, whether he be a Jew, a Christian, or a Sabian, shall be excluded from salvation, provided he quit his erroneous religion and become a Muslim, which they say is intended by the following words..[after "Sabians"]. And this interpretation is approved by Mr. Reland, who thinks the words here import no more than those of the apostle, 'In every nation, he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him;'[4] from which it must not be inferred, that the religion of nature, or any other, is sufficient to save, without faith in Christ."[5] (Sale.)

[1] Selden, de Jure nat. et gentium sec. Hebr. lib. vi. c. 12. Angel. a S. Joseph. Gazophylac. Persic. p. 365. Nic. Cusanus in Cribratione Alcorani, lib. iii. c. 2, &c. [2] See Chardin's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 326, 331. [3] Abu-l-Kásim Hibet-Allah de abrogante et abrogato. [4] Acts, x. 35. [5] *Vide* Reland de rel. Moham. p. 128, &c.

ing the admonition and not considering it, they are like the beasts, that hear the voice of their pastor but do not understand it. They are deaf, dumb, blind: therefore they do not understand *the admonition.* (Chap. ii. v. 166.)

¶ 5. [*As to*] the unbelievers, their works are like a vapour* in a plain, which the thirsty imagineth to be water, until, when he cometh unto it, he findeth it not aught. *In like manner, the unbeliever reckoneth that his* [*good*] *works* (*such as alms*) *will profit him, until, when he dieth, and is brought before his Lord, he findeth not his works; that is, they do not profit him.* But he findeth God there, and He fully payeth him his account: *He recompenseth him* [*for his good works*] *in the present world:* and God is swift in reckoning.—Or *those who have disbelieved, and their evil works, are* like darkness is in a deep sea, covered by waves, over which are waves, over which are clouds; *these being* darknesses one above another (*the darkness of the sea, and that of the first waves, and that of the second, and that of the clouds*): when *the beholder* putteth forth his hand, *in these darknesses,* he is not nearly able to see it. And unto whomsoever God giveth not light, he hath no light. (Chap. xxiv. v. 39 and 40.)

¶ 6. Thou shalt certainly find, *O Mohammad,* the most violent of men in enmity to those who have believed [*to be*] the Jews, and those who have attributed partners to God, *of the people of Mekkeh;* and thou shalt certainly find the nearest of them to friendship to those who have believed [*to be*] those who say, We are Christians. This is because there are among them priests and

* The word rendered "vapour" (namely "sarâb") signifies that remarkable phenomenon generally called by Europeans "mirage," which is so often seen in the desert, tormenting the thirsty traveller by presenting the appearance of a lake, distinctly reflecting the images of objects situated within and beyond it.

monks, and because they are not proud, *so as to disdain receiving the truth, as are the Jews, and the people of Mekkeh.* (*This was revealed as respecting the envoys who came from the King of Abyssinia: the prophet recited the Soorat Yá-Seen;* whereupon they wept, and became Muslims, and said, How like is this to that which was revealed to Jesus!*) And when they hear that which hath been sent down unto the apostle (*namely, the Ḳur-án*), thou seest their eyes overflow with tears, because of the truth that they know: they say, O our Lord, we believe *thy prophet and thy book;* therefore write us down among those who bear witness *to their truth.* (Chap. v. vv. 85 and 86.)

¶ 7. The similitude of those who were charged to bear in mind the Law [*of Moses*], *so as to do according thereto,* then bore it not in mind, *not believing in Mohammad,* is as the similitude of the ass that beareth books. Evil is the similitude of the people who have charged the signs of God with falsehood; and God directeth not the unjust people. (Chap. lxii. v. 5.)

¶ 8. Say *unto them,* [*namely the unbelieving Jews,*] If the future mansion with God (*that is, paradise*) be for you peculiarly, exclusively of [*the rest of*] mankind, *as ye have pretended,* wish for death, if ye be speakers of truth. But they will never wish for it, because of that which their hands have sent before,† *by their disbelief in the prophet;* and God knoweth the offenders (*the unbelievers*), *and will recompense them.* Thou shalt assuredly find them, of [*all*] men, the most covetous of life, and *more*

* The thirty-sixth chapter of the Ḳur-án.

† "An expression much like that of St. Paul, where he says, that 'some men's sins are open beforehand, going before to judgment."[1] (Sale.)

[1] 1 Tim. v. 24.

covetous than those who have attributed partners [*to God*] (*that is, those who deny the resurrection*), *because they know that their place of destination is the fire.* One of them wisheth that he might be preserved alive a thousand years; but his being preserved alive doth not remove him from the punishment. (Chap. ii. vv. 88—90.)

¶ 9. Do ye desire, *O ye believers,* that they (*namely the Jews*) should believe you, when there was a party of them (*their doctors*) *who* heard the word of God *in the Law,* then perverted it, after they had understood it, while they knew *that they were liars?* And when they (*the hypocrites of the Jews*) meet those who have believed, they say, We believe *that Mohammad is a prophet, and that he is the* [*prophet*] *announced in our book;* — but when they retire privately, one to another, they (*that is, their chiefs, who have not acted hypocritically*) say (*unto those who have so acted*), Do ye acquaint them (*namely the believers*) with that which God hath revealed to you *in the Law, relating to the description of Mohammad,* that they may adduce it as a proof against you in the presence of your Lord, *for your not obeying him when ye knew his veracity?* Do ye not then understand *that they will adduce proof against you if ye acquaint them; and will ye not therefore abstain?* — And do they not know, *saith God,* that God knoweth what they conceal and what they divulge? And among them are illiterate men, who know not the Book (*of the Law*), but only lying stories, *which they have learned of their chiefs, and therefore credited;* and *in denying the prophetic office of the prophet, and in other lies that they invent,* they do nothing but imagine, *having no knowledge.* And wo unto them who write the Book with their hands, *forging lies of their own,* then say, This is from God,—that they may obtain

in exchange for it a small *worldly* price! (*They were the Jews, who altered the description of the prophet in the Law, and the verse of stoning,* and other passages.*) Therefore wo unto them, because of that which their hands have written, *of forged lies;* and wo unto them because of that which they gain, *of bribes!* And they said, *when the prophet threatened them with the fire,* The fire will not touch us but for a number of days,—(*forty days, the period during which their fathers worshipped the calf*)†:—*then it will cease.*—Say *unto them, O Mohammad,* Have ye received of God a covenant *to that effect?* For God will not act contrary to his covenant. Or do ye say concerning God what ye know not? Yea: *it shall touch you, and ye shall remain in it for ever.* Those who do an evil thing,‡ *attributing a partner to God,* and whom their iniquity encompasseth, *because they have died polytheists,* these [*shall be*] the companions of the fire: they shall remain therein for ever. But they who have believed, and done good works, these [*shall be*] the companions of paradise: they shall remain therein for ever. (Chap. ii. vv. 70—76.)

¶ 10. *With reference to the hypocrites,* [*the following*] *was revealed:*—Among men are those who say, We be-

* The verse ordaining that persons guilty of adultery should be stoned.

† "It is a received opinion among the Jews at present, that no person, be he ever so wicked, or of whatever sect, shall remain in hell above eleven months, or at most a year; except Dathan and Abiram, and atheists, who will be tormented there to all eternity."[1] (Sale.)

‡ By this, "the commentators generally understand polytheism or idolatry; which sin the Mohammadans believe, unless repented of in this life, is unpardonable, and will be punished by eternal damnation; but all other sins they hold will at length be forgiven. This, therefore, is that irremissible impiety, in their opinion, which in the New Testament is called 'the sin against the Holy Ghost.'" (*Idem.*)

[1] *Vide* Bartoloccii Biblioth. Rabbinic. tom. ii. p. 128, and tom. iii. p. 421.

lieve in God and in the last day,—(*that is, the day of resurrection, because it is the last of days*): but they are not believers. They endeavour to deceive God and those who have believed, *by making a show of the reverse of the infidelity that they conceal;* but they deceive not any except themselves; *for the punishment of their deceit shall come upon them, and they shall be disgraced in this world, in consequence of God's acquainting his prophet with that which they conceal, and shall be punished in the world to come;* and they know not *that they deceive themselves.* In their hearts is a disease; *doubt and hypocrisy disorder them;* and God hath increased their disease, *by what He hath revealed of the Kur-án, because they disbelieve it;* and for them [*is ordained*] a painful punishment, because they have charged with falsehood *the prophet of God.* And when it is said unto them, Corrupt not in the earth, *by infidelity, and hindering others from embracing the faith,*—they reply, We are only rectifiers.—Assuredly they are the corrupters; but they are not sensible *thereof.* And when it is said unto them, Believe ye, as *other* men, *the companions of the prophet,* have believed,—they say, Shall we believe as the fools have believed?—Assuredly they are the fools; but they know *it* not. And when they meet those who have believed, they say, We believe:—but when they retire privately to their devils (*that is, their chiefs*), they say, We *agree* with you *in religion:* we only mock *at them by making a show of the faith.*—God will mock at them: *He will requite them for their mockery,* and continue them in their exceeding wickedness, wandering about in perplexity. These are they who have purchased error in exchange for right direction, and their traffic hath not been profitable: *on the contrary, they have incurred loss;*

for their transit is to the eternal fire; and they have not been rightly directed *in that which they have done.* (Chap. ii. vv. 7—15.)

¶ 11. The similitude of them, *in their hypocrisy,* is as the similitude of persons who* have kindled a fire *in the dark,* and when it hath enlightened what is around them, *and they see, and are warm, and feel secure from that which they feared,* God taketh away their light, and leaveth them in darkness, not seeing *what is around them.* (*Thus these persons feel secure in consequence of their making an outward profession of the faith; but when they die, fear cometh to them, and punishment.*) *They are* deaf *to the truth, so that they hear it not in such a manner as to receive it;* dumb *with respect to good, so that they utter it not;* blind *with respect to the right way:* therefore they will not turn back *from error.* —Or *they are* like *people in* a storm of rain from heaven, wherein are darkness and thunder† and lightning: they put their fingers in their ears, because of the vehement sounds of the thunder, for fear of death. (*Thus these persons, when the Kur-án is revealed, wherein are mentioned infidelity, which is likened unto darkness,—and the threat on account of it, which is likened unto thunder,—and the evident proofs, which are likened unto lightning,—stop up their ears, lest they should hear it and incline unto the faith and unto the abandonment of their religion, which act, in their estimation, would be death.*) And God encompasseth the unbelievers *by his knowledge and his power, so that they cannot escape him.* The

* The word "elledhee," here rendered "persons who," is employed in this case as a collective noun, agreeing with verbs and pronouns in the singular and in the plural. See De Sacy, Gram. Ar. 2nde ed. tom. ii. p. 288, note.

† That is, according to the commentary, the angel charged therewith; or, as some say, his voice.

lightning almost snatcheth away their eyes: whenever it shineth to them they walk in *the light of* it, but when darkness cometh on them, they stand still. (*This alludeth to the terrifying effects of the proofs that are in the Kur-án, upon their hearts; and to their believing what they have heard of it that they like, and their withstanding what they dislike.* And if God pleased, He would certainly take away their *external* ears and eyes, *as He hath the internal:* for God is able to do everything *that He pleaseth.* (Chap. ii. vv. 16—19.)

¶ 12. O ye who have believed, take not the Jews and Christians as friends. They are friends, one to another: and whosoever of you taketh them as his friends, verily he is *of the number* of them. (Chap. v. v. 56.)

¶ 13. O ye who have believed, take not those who have made your religion a laughing stock and a jest, of those who have received the Scripture before you, and the unbelievers (*or polytheists*), as friends; (but fear God, if ye be believers; and *those who,* when ye call to prayer, make it (*namely the prayer*) a laughing stock and a jest. This *they do* because they are a people who do not understand. (Chap. v. vv. 62—63.)

§ XXV. Of the Resurrection, Judgment, Paradise, and Hell.

¶ 1. They (*that is, the people of Mekkeh*) will ask thee respecting the hour *of the resurrection,* at what time is its coming fixed. Answer *them,* The knowledge of *the time when* it *will be* is only with my Lord: none shall manifest it in its time but He. It is grievous in the heavens and the earth (*to the inhabitants thereof*), *by reason of its terribleness.* It shall not come upon you otherwise than suddenly.—They will ask thee as though thou wert well acquainted therewith. Answer, The knowledge of it is only with God: but the greater number of men know not *this.* Say, I possess not for myself *power to procure* advantage, nor *to avert* mischief, save as God pleaseth; and if I knew things unseen, I should obtain abundance of good, and evil should not happen unto me (*neither poverty nor aught else, in consequence of my guarding against it*). I am only a denouncer of threats *unto the unbelievers,* and an announcer of good tidings unto people who believe. (Chap. vii. vv. 186—188.)

¶ 2. When the sun shall be wrapped up, *and its light be taken away,* and when the stars shall fall down *upon the earth,* and when the mountains shall be made to pass

away *from the face of the earth and become fine dust scattered abroad,* and when the camels ten months gone with young (*the most highly esteemed of property*) shall be neglected, and when the wild beasts shall be gathered together, *after the resurrection* (*that retaliation may be made, after which they will become dust*), and when the seas shall be set on fire, and when the souls shall be joined *again to their bodies,* and when the female child that hath been buried alive shall be asked for what crime she was put to death,* and when the books *of men's actions* shall be laid open, and when the heaven shall be removed *as the skin is plucked off from the* [*slaughtered*] *sheep,* and when hell shall be made to burn, and when paradise shall be brought near *unto its people that they may enter it, then every* soul shall know what it hath produced, *of good and evil.* (Chap. lxxxi. vv. 1—14.)

¶ 3. They say, When [*will be fulfilled*] this promise *of the resurrection,* if ye be speakers of truth *respecting it? God answereth,* They wait not save for one sound (*Isráfeel's first blast* [*of the trumpet*]), which shall assail them while they are disputing together, *and trafficking, and eating and drinking;* and they shall not be able to make any testament, nor shall they return to their families *from their markets and their occupations, but they shall die so employed.* And the trumpet shall be blown *the second time, for the resurrection,* (*forty years having intervened between the two blasts,*) and lo, they *who have been buried* shall come speedily from the graves unto their Lord. *The unbelievers among them* shall say, Oh, wo are we! Who hath roused us from our sleeping-place? —(*For they shall sleep between the two blasts, without being punished.*) This is what the Compassionate pro-

* See the Introduction, § ii. ¶ 3.

mised, and the apostles spake truth *concerning it.—They shall acknowledge when acknowledgment will not profit them; or, as some say, these words shall be said unto them.* —It shall be nought but one sound [*of the trumpet*], and lo, they shall all be assembled before us. And on that day, no soul shall be treated unjustly in the least; neither shall ye be rewarded but *according to* what ye shall have done. Verily the companions of paradise shall be diverted by *their* occupations *from regarding the state of the inmates of the fire,* being full of joy; they and their wives* in shady places, upon the bridal couches reclining. They shall have therein fruit, and they shall have what they desire. Peace *shall be the* word from a merciful Lord (*that is, He shall say unto them, Peace be on you!*). —But *He shall say* [*unto the wicked*], Be ye separated, this day, O sinners, *from the believers*—(*upon their mixing with them*). Did I not command you, O sons of Adam, *by the tongues of my apostles* [*saying,*] Serve ye not the devil, for he is unto you a manifest enemy; but serve ye me, *confessing my unity, and obeying me:* this is a right way? But he hath caused to err a great multitude of you. Did ye not then understand *his enmity?* This is hell, with which ye were threatened: endure its heat this day, for your unbelief.—On that day we will seal up their mouths, *on their saying, By God, our Lord, we were not polytheists;*—and their hands shall speak unto us, and their feet *and other members* shall bear witness of that which they shall have earned. And if we pleased, we would put out their eyes, and they would run with emulation in the way, *as they have been wont to do;* but how should they see? And if we pleased, we would transform them *into apes and swine, or stones,* in

* See a note to the next paragraph.

their place; and they would not be able to go, nor should they return. (Chap. xxxvi. vv. 48—67.)

¶ 4. They have not esteemed God with the estimation due to Him, since the whole earth (*that is, the seven earths*) [*shall be*] his handful (*that is, under his dominion and at his disposal*) on the day of resurrection, and the heavens [*shall be*] folded together by his right hand (*by his power*). Extolled be his perfection, and highly be He exalted above the [*things*] which they associate *with Him!* And the trumpet shall be blown,* and whosoever are in the heavens, and whosoever are on the earth, shall die, except those whom God shall please, *of the Hooreeyehs and the Weleeds*† *and other creatures.*‡ Then it shall be blown another time; and lo, they (*that is, all the creatures who shall have died*) shall arise, waiting *for that which shall be done with them.* And the earth shall shine with the light of its Lord, *when He shall reveal himself to judge.* And the book *wherein actions are recorded* shall be placed *for the reckoning;* and the prophets shall be brought, and the witnesses (*namely, the people of Moḥammad, to bear witness in favour of the*

* "The first time."[1] (Sale.)

† The very meanest in paradise is promised eighty thousand servants, beautiful youths, called "weleeds," and seventy-two wives of the black-eyed girls of paradise, called "ḥooreeyehs," besides the wives he had in this world, if he desire to have the latter—and the good will doubtless desire the good.—See Sale's Preliminary Discourse, section iv.

‡ "These, some say, will be the angels Gabriel, Michael, and Isráfeel, and the angel of death, who yet will afterwards all die, at the command of God;[2] it being the constant opinion of the Moḥammadan doctors, that every soul, both of men, and of animals, which live either on land or in the sea, and of the angels also, must necessarily taste of death:[3] others suppose those who will be exempted are the angels who bear the throne of God;[4] or the black-eyed damsels, [the ḥooreeyehs,] and other inhabitants of Paradise."[5] (*Idem.*)

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[1] El-Beyḍáwee. [2] *Idem*, and Yaḥya. [3] *Vide* Pocock. not. in Port. Mosis, p. 266. [4] El Beyḍáwee. [5] Jelál-ed-Deen.

apostles, of their having delivered their messages), and judgment shall be given between them with truth, and they shall not be treated unjustly. And every soul shall be fully paid *the reward of* what it shall have done; and He well knoweth what they do, *so that He requireth not a witness.* And those who shall have disbelieved shall be urged on *with violence* unto hell, in troops, until, when they come unto it, its gates shall be opened, and its guardians shall say unto them, Did not apostles from among you come unto you, rehearsing unto you the signs of your Lord, (*namely, the Ḳur-án and other scriptures*), and warning you of the meeting of this your day? They shall answer, Yea: but the sentence of punishment (*namely, I will surely fill hell*)*—hath been justly pronounced against the unbelievers. It shall be said, Enter ye the gates of hell, to remain therein for ever; and evil [*shall be*] the abode of the proud! — And those who shall have feared their Lord shall be urged on *with gentleness* unto paradise, in troops, until, when they come unto it, its gates having been already opened, and its guardians say unto them, Peace be on you! Ye have been good: therefore enter it to remain *therein* for ever, —*they shall enter it.* (*Their being urged on, and the opening of the gates before their coming, will be for their honour; and the urging on of the unbelievers, and the opening of the gates of hell at their arrival, to preserve its heat until then, will be for the purpose of treating them with contempt.*) And they shall say, Praise be to God, who hath performed unto us his promise *of paradise*, and hath made us to inherit the land *thereof*, that we may dwell in paradise wherever we please (*for throughout it is no place to be chosen in preference to another.*) And how

* Ḳur-án, chap. vii. v. 17 (in § vii. ¶ 2, of these selections.)

excellent is the reward of the workers [*of righteousness!*] —And thou shalt see the angels encompassing the throne, extolling the perfection, *and occupying themselves* with the praise of their Lord. And judgment shall be given between them (*that is, between all creatures*) with truth; and it shall be said, *by the angels, when the two parties shall have taken up their abodes,* Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds! (Chap. xxxix. vv. 67 to the end.)

¶ 5. The trumpet shall be blown *the second time,* and we will gather together the sinners on that day, having blue eyes,* *while their faces shall be black.* They shall say in a low voice, one to another, Ye tarried not *in the world* save ten *nights with their days.* We are most knowing with respect to that which they will say (*that is, it will not be as they will say,*) when the most just of them in [*his*] way will say, Ye have not tarried save a day. (*They will consider the period of their stay in the present world as having been very short because of the terrors which they will behold in the world to come.*— And they will ask thee respecting the mountains, *how they will be on the day of resurrection.* Then say *unto them,* My Lord will reduce them to powder and scatter them abroad, and He will leave them a level plain: thou shalt not see among them a depression, nor an elevation. On that day, they (*that is, mankind, after they shall have risen from the graves*) shall follow the

* Or grey eyes. "For this, with the Arabs, is one mark of an enemy, or a person they abominate; to say a man has a *black liver* (though I think we express our aversion by the term *white-livered,*) *reddish whiskers,* and *grey eyes,* being a periphrasis for a foe, and particularly a Greek, which nation were the most inveterate enemies of the Arabs, and have usually hair and eyes of those colours.[1] The original word, however, signifies also those who are *squint-eyed,* or even *blind* of a suffusion." (Sale.)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee; and El-Jóharee, *in Lex.*

summoner, *Isráfeel, who shall say, Come ye to present yourselves before the Compassionate!* There shall be no evading it (*namely, their following: they shall not be able to refrain from following*), and voices shall be low unto the Compassionate, so that thou shalt not hear [*aught*] save the sound of the feet *proceeding to the place of assembly.* On that day, no intercession shall profit, excepting [*that of*] him whom the Compassionate shall permit *to intercede with Him,* and whose speech He shall approve (*that is, his saying, There is no deity but God*). He knoweth what is before them, *of the things of the world to come,* and what is behind them, *of the things of the present world,* but they comprehend it not by *their* knowledge. And the faces shall be humble before the Living, the Ever-Subsisting (*that is, God*), and he shall suffer loss who shall bear iniquity, *or polytheism.* (Chap. xx. vv. 102—110.)

¶ 6. *Call to mind* the day when the earth shall be changed into another earth, and the heavens [*into other heavens*], (*namely the day of resurrection, when mankind shall be congrègated upon a white, clean earth, as related in the collections of traditions entitled Saheeheyn: and Muslim hath related a tradition stating, that the apostle of God was asked where men would be on that day,—and answered, On the Sirát:*) and they shall come forth *from the graves* unto God, the One, the Almighty. And thou shalt see, *O Mohammad,* the sinners, on that day, bound together *with their devils* in the fetters: their inner garments shall be of pitch, and fire shall cover their faces: that God may recompense every soul for that which it shall have gained *of good and evil.* Verily God is swift in reckoning. (Chap. xiv. vv. 49—51.)

¶ 7. *Call to mind* the day when we will cause the

mountains to pass away *from the face of the earth, and they shall become scattered dust,* and thou shalt see the earth plain, *without mountains or other things;* and we will assemble them (*namely, the believers and the unbelievers,*) and not leave of them any one. And they shall be set before thy Lord in ranks, *each class in a rank; and it shall be said unto them,* Now are ye come unto us as we created you the first time, *one after another, barefooted, naked, unarmed. And it shall be said unto the deniers of the resurrection,* Nay, ye thought that we would not perform [*our*] promise *of the resurrection* to you. And the book shall be put (*the book of every man: that of the believer in his right hand, and that of the unbeliever in his left*); and thou shalt see the sinners fearful because of that which is [*written*] therein, and they shall say, Oh, woe are we! What meaneth this book? It leaveth neither a small *sin* nor a great *sin,* but it enumerateth it!—And they shall find that which they shall have wrought present (*written in their books*); and thy Lord will not deal unjustly with any one. (Chap. xviii. vv. 45—47.)

8. When one blast of the trumpet shall be blown, *for the judging between the creatures,* (*and this will be the second blast,*) and the earth shall be raised, and the mountains, and they shall be broken into dust with one breaking, on that day the calamity (*the resurrection*) shall happen, and the heaven shall cleave asunder, being on that day fragile, and the angels being on the sides thereof (*that is, on the sides of the heaven*);* and over them (*namely, the angels above mentioned*), on that day,

* "These words seem to intimate the death of the angels, at the demolition of their habitation; beside the ruins whereof they shall lie like dead bodies." (Sale.)

eight *of the angels, or eight ranks of them,* shall bear the throne of thy Lord.* On that day ye shall be presented *for the reckoning:* none of your secrets shall be hidden. And as to him who shall have his book given to him in his right hand, he shall say *unto a company, by reason of his joy thereat,* Take ye, read my book. Verily I was sure that I should come to my reckoning.—And he [*shall be*] in [*the enjoyment of*] a pleasant life, in a lofty garden, the clusters of which [*shall be*] near at hand, *so that he who standeth and he who sitteth and he who lieth down may reach them. And it shall be said unto such persons,* Eat ye and drink with benefit, on account of that which ye paid beforehand in the past days.—But as to him who shall have his book given to him in his left hand, he shall say, Oh, would that I had not had my book given to me, nor known what [*was*] my reckoning! Oh, would that it (*namely, my death in the world*) had been the ending *of my existence!* My wealth hath not profited me! My power is passed away from me!—*And it shall be said unto the keepers of hell,* Take ye him and chain him, *attaching his hands to his neck:* then into hell put him to be burned: then in a chain of the length of seventy cubits put him: for he believed not in God, the Great, nor urged to feed the poor: therefore he shall not have, this day, here, a friend *by whom to profit,* nor any food except corrupt matter (*issuing from the people of hell, or from a tree in it*), which none shall eat but the sinners. (Chap. lxix. vv. 13—37.)

¶ 9. Be ye not like those who have separated them-

* "The number of those who bear it at present being generally supposed to be but four; to whom four more will be added at the last day, for the grandeur of the occasion."[1] (Sale.)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee, and Jelál-ed-Deen.

selves *from their religion,* and disagreed *respecting it,* after the manifest proofs have come unto them (*and they were the Jews and the Christians*); and for these [*is prepared*] a great punishment, on the day when faces shall become white and faces shall become black (*that is, the day of resurrection*). And as to those whose faces shall have become black (*and they are the unbelievers*), *they shall be cast into hell, and it shall be said unto them, in reproach,* Have ye disbelieved after your belief? Then taste the punishment, because ye did disbelieve.—But as to those whose faces shall have become white (*namely the believers*), [*they shall abide*] in the mercy of God (*or his paradise*): they shall remain therein for ever. (Chap. iii. v. 101—103.)

¶ 10. Whoso turneth away from my admonition (*namely the Kur-án*) *and believeth not therein,* verily he shall have a distressing existence (*this is interpreted in a tradition as signifying the punishment of the unbeliever in his grave*),* and we will congregate him [*with others*], on the day of resurrection, blind. He shall say, O my Lord, wherefore hast thou congregated me [*with others*] blind, whereas I was endowed with sight *in the world and at the resurrection?* *God* shall answer, Thus [*is the case*]: our signs came unto thee and thou didst neglect them, *and believedst not therein;* and in like manner, this day, shalt thou be neglected (*thou shalt be left in the fire*); and thus will we recompense him who hath transgressed *by attributing partners to God,* and hath not believed in the

* By two angels, called Munkar and Nekeer (vulgarly called Nákir and Nekeer), of terrible aspect, who will cause the body (to which the soul shall for the time be reunited) to sit upright in the grave (which is therefore a vault, where the corpse is merely laid on the floor, wrapped in the grave-clothes), and will question the deceased respecting his faith. The wicked they will severely torture; but the good they will not hurt.

signs of his Lord; and assuredly the punishment of the world to come shall be more severe *than the punishment of this world and than the punishment of the grave,* and more lasting. (Chap. xx. vv. 123—127.)

¶ 11. *Remember* the day when they shall see the angels *among the creatures in general (that is, the day of resurrection): [there shall be]* no good tidings on that day for the sinners; and they shall say, Far, far removed *be they from us! — (as they are accustomed to say in the present world when affliction befalleth them), begging to be defended from the angels.—God saith,* And we will proceed to [*consider*] the *good* works which they shall have done (*as alms, and close intercourse with kindred, and hospitality to the guest, and succouring the afflicted in the present world*), and we will make them *like* the fine particles of dust that are seen in the sun's rays, scattered abroad: *they shall be recompensed for them [only] in the present world.* The companions of paradise, on that day, [*shall be*] happier as to abode *than the unbelievers are in the present world,* and in a better state as to the place of noon-day-repose. (*Hence it is inferred that the reckoning will be finished in half a day, as is related in a tradition.*) And *remember* the day when the heaven (*that is, each heaven*) shall be cloven asunder, together with the clouds, and the angels shall be sent down, (*namely, the day of resurrection*): the true dominion, on that day, shall belong unto the Compassionate *alone;* and it shall be a difficult day unto the unbelievers: and the day when the offender (*the polytheist 'Okbeh the son of Aboo-Mo'eyt, who pronounced the two professions of the faith, [There is no deity but God: Mohammad is the apostle of God:] and then retracted, to please Ubei' the*

son of Khalaf)* shall bite his hands *in repentance and grief, at the resurrection,* saying, Oh, would that I had taken, with the apostle *Mohammad, the* way *of truth!* Oh, wo is me! Would that I had not taken such a one as an intimate friend! He hath caused me to err from the admonition (*the Kur-án*) after it came unto me!—*God saith,* And the devil is, unto *the unbelieving* man, an habitual abandoner; *for he leaveth him, and declareth himself clear of him, in the time of trial.* (Chap. xxv. vv. 24—31.)

¶ 12. *Remember* the day when the enemies of God shall be gathered together unto the fire, being urged on, until, when they shall come unto it, their ears and their eyes and their skins shall bear witness against them of that which they shall have done. And they shall say unto their skins, Wherefore have ye borne witness against us? They shall answer, God hath caused us to speak, who causeth all things to speak; and He created you the first time, and unto Him ye are brought back. (*It is said that this is part of what will be said by the skins,*

* 'Okbeh the son of Aboo-Mo'eyt "used to be much in Mohammad's company, and having once invited him to an entertainment, the prophet refused to taste of his meat unless he would profess El-Islám; which accordingly he did. Soon after, 'Okbeh, meeting Ubei Ibn-Khalaf, his intimate friend, and being reproached by him for changing his religion, assured him that he had not, but had only pronounced the profession of faith to engage Mohammad to eat with him, because he could not for shame let him go out of his house without eating. However, 'Okbeh protested that he would not be satisfied unless he went to Mohammad and set his foot on his neck, and spat in his face; which 'Okbeh, rather than break with his friend, performed in the public hall where he found Mohammad sitting: whereupon the prophet told him that if he ever met him out of Mekkeh, he would cut off his head. And he was as good as his word; for 'Okbeh, being afterwards taken prisoner at the battle of Bedr, had his head struck off by 'Alee, at Mohammad's command. As for Ubei, he received a wound from the prophet's own hand, at the battle of Ohod, of which he died at his return to Mekkeh."[1] (Sale.)

[1] El-Beydáwee. *Vide* Gagnier, Vie de Mahom. vol. i. p. 362.

and it is said that it is part of the words of God, like what follows it; and it occurs to show the probability of what is said before; because He who is able to create you at the first, and to restore you to life after death, is able to cause your skins and your members to speak.) And ye did not conceal yourselves, *when ye committed abominable crimes,* so that your ears should not bear witness against you, nor your eyes, nor your skins; *for ye were not certain of the resurrection;* but ye imagined, *when ye concealed yourselves,* that God knew not many things that ye did; and this your imagination, which ye imagined of your Lord, hath ruined you, so that ye are become of [*the number of*] those who perish.—Therefore, whether they be patient *under the punishment,* the fire [*shall be*] their abode; and whether they beg for favour, they shall not be of [*the number of*] those [*who shall be*] favoured. And we will appoint *devils as* companions unto them; for they have made their present state to seem pleasant unto them, and their future state; and the sentence *of punishment* (*namely, I will surely fill hell*)* [*pronounced*] on peoples which have passed away before them, of the jinn and of men, hath become their due: verily they perished. (Chap. xli. vv. 18—24.)

¶ 13. For those who have disbelieved in their Lord [*is prepared*] the punishment of hell; and evil [*shall be*] the transit. When they shall be cast into it, they shall hear it braying,† while it boileth, almost bursting with rage. (Chap. lxvii. vv. 6—8.)

* Kur-án, chap. vii. v. 17 (in § vii. ¶ 2, of these selections.)

† This expression has been unjustly ridiculed. Shakspeare uses it in the same manner:—

"Shall *braying* trumpets, and loud churlish drums,
Clamours of hell, be measures to our pomp?"

and Milton:—

¶ 14. They have disbelieved in the hour *of the resurrection;* and we have prepared, for such as disbelieve in the hour, flaming fire: when it shall see them from a distant place, they shall hear its raging and roaring; and when they shall be cast into a strait place thereof, *with their hands* bound *unto their necks,* they shall call there for destruction; *but it shall be said unto them,* Call not this day for one destruction, but call for many destructions. Say, Is that better, or the garden of eternal abode, which the pious have been promised? It shall be for them a recompense and a retreat: they shall have therein what they please, abiding for ever. It is a promise demanded of thy Lord. And on the day when He shall assemble them and what they worship beside God (*as the angels and Jesus and Ezra and the jinn*), and shall say *unto the objects of worship,* Did ye cause to err these my servants, *by commanding them to worship you,* or did they *of themselves* err from the *right* way?—They shall answer, Extolled be Thy purity *from that which becometh Thee not!* It was not fitting for us to take any protectors beside Thee. *Then how should we command to worship us?* But Thou didst permit them and their fathers to enjoy abundance, so that they forgot the admonition, and became lost people.—*And God shall say* [*unto the worshippers*], Now have they accused you of falsehood in that which ye say, and they are not able to avert *the punishment from you,* nor to defend *you from it.*—And whosoever of you offendeth *by polytheism,* we will cause him to taste a great punishment *in the world to come.* (Chap. xxv. vv. 12—21.)

"Arms on armour clashing, *bray'd*
Horrible discord."
(Both these passages I transcribe from Johnson's Dictionary.)

¶ 15. If thou shouldst see,* *O Mohammad,* those who have offended *by taking to themselves idols,* when they see the punishment, *thou wouldst see a great thing:* for power belongeth unto God, altogether, and God is severe in punishing: when those who have been followed will declare themselves clear of those who have followed, *denying their having led them into error,* when they have seen the punishment, and the ties *of relationship and friendship* shall be severed from them, and those who have followed shall say, O that there were for us a return *to the world!* then would we declare ourselves clear of them, like as they have *now* declared themselves clear of us. In like manner, *as He hath shown them the severity of his punishment, and their declaring themselves clear, one of another,* God will show them their *evil* works, for which [*they shall pour forth*] lamentations; and they shall not come forth from the fire. (Chap. ii. vv. 160—162.)

¶ 16. And the devil (*Iblees*) shall say, when the matter shall have been determined, *and the people of paradise are introduced into paradise, and the people of the fire into the fire, and when the latter have assembled around him,* Verily God promised you the promise of truth, *respecting the resurrection and retribution, and He spake truth unto you;* and I promised you *the contrary;* but I deceived you: yet I had not any power over you, *to compel you to obey me;* but I only called you, and ye answered me: therefore blame not me, but blame your ownselves. I am not an assister of you, nor are ye assisters of me. Verily I renounce your having associated me *with God* heretofore. (Chap. xiv. vv. 26—27.)

¶ 17. Give good tidings unto those who have be-

* The copies of the original differ here; but the differences are unimportant.

lieved, and have done good works (*of the duties enjoined by God as indispensable, and of supererogatory acts*), that for them [*are prepared*] gardens beneath *the trees and pavilions of* which run rivers: whenever they are fed with fruit thereof for sustenance, they will say, This is *like* that wherewith we were fed before *in paradise,—on account of the mutual resemblance of the fruits.* And they shall be supplied with it (*that is, with the fruits*) of similar kinds *in colour, but different in taste.* And they shall have therein wives, *of the hooreeyehs and others,* purified; and therein they shall continue for ever. (Chap. ii. v. 23.)

¶ 18. Whosoever doth *aught of* good works, whether male or female, being a believer, these shall enter paradise, and shall not be wronged in the smallest degree (Chap. iv. v. 123.)

¶ 19. Paradise shall be brought near unto the pious *to a place* not distant *from them, so that they shall see it, and it shall be said unto them,* This is what ye have been promised; unto every one who hath earnestly turned himself unto God, and kept *his laws,* who hath feared the Compassionate in secret, and come with a penitent heart. Enter it in peace (*secure from everything to be feared; or with salutation*): this is the day of eternity. (Chap. l. vv. 30—33.)

¶ 20. The sincere servants of God, these shall have, *in paradise,* a certain provision, *namely,* fruits *which they shall eat for enjoyment,* and they shall be honoured *with the reward of God,* in the gardens of delight, upon couches opposite one to another, *so that one of them shall not see the back of another's neck.* A cup shall be carried round unto *each of* them, *full* of wine *flowing upon the face of the ground like rivers of water, more* white *than milk,* delicious to the drinkers (*contrary to the wine*

of this world, which is detestable to drink), not having the property of taking away the intellect, nor shall they be inebriated thereby. And by them [*shall be*] females refraining their sight, *looking at none but their husbands,* having large and beautiful eyes, resembling, *in their complexion,* eggs *of the ostrich,* covered *with its feathers so that no dust cometh on them* (*for their colour, which is white with a tinge of yellow, is the most beautiful of the colours of women*). And they (*namely the inhabitants of paradise*) shall address one another, asking questions *respecting what happened to them in the present world.* One of them shall say, Verily I had a companion who *denied the resurrection, and* said *unto me,* Art thou [*one*] of those who believe *in the resurrection?* When we shall have died, and become dust and bones, shall we be requited, *and reckoned with?—Then that speaker* shall say *unto his brethren,* Will ye look *with me at the fire, that we may see his condition? And they shall answer, No.* And he shall look *through one of the windows of paradise,* and shall see him (*namely his companion*) in the midst of hell. He shall say *unto him,* By God, thou hadst almost caused me to perish *by thine evil suggestions,* and had it not been for the favour of my Lord, *causing me to believe,* I had surely been [*one*] of those who have been brought *with thee into hell. And the people of paradise shall say,* Do we not die any other than our first death, and are we not punished? Verily this is great felicity! For the like of this should the labourers labour!—(*It is said that this will be said unto them; and it is said that they will say it.*)—Is this a better entertainment, or the tree of Ez-Zakkoom, *which is prepared for the people of hell?* Verily we have made it to be an occasion of discord to the unjust *among the people of Mekkeh; for they have said, The*

fire would burn the tree. Verily it is a tree that cometh up in the bottom of hell, *its branches rising to its highest parts,* its fruit resembling the heads of devils, *or serpents of hideous appearance;* and verily they *who have disbelieved* shall eat of it, *notwithstanding its foulness, by reason of the violence of their hunger,* and shall fill [*their*] bellies therewith: then shall they have, thereon, a mixture of hot water (*they shall drink it, and it will mix with that which they shall have eaten*): then shall they return unto hell. (*This implieth that they shall go forth from it, to drink the hot water, and that the hot water is without the limits of hell.*) They found their fathers erring, and they hastily followed their footsteps; and the greater number of the former generations erred before them, though we had sent among them warners: but see what was the end of those who were warned, except the sincere servants of God. (Chap. xxxvii. vv. 39—71.)

¶ 21. When the calamity (*that is, the resurrection*) shall happen, there shall not be *a soul* that will deny its happening *as it hath denied it in the present world:* [*it will be*] an abaser *of some,* an exalter *of others:* when the earth shall be shaken with a *violent* shaking, and the mountains shall be crumbled with a [*violent*] crumbling, and shall become fine dust scattered abroad: and ye shall be three classes. Then the people of the right hand (*namely those who shall receive their books in their right hands*)—what [*shall be*] the people of the right hand! (*how honourable shall they be!*):—and the people of the left hand (*each of whom shall receive his book in his left hand*)—what [*shall be*] the people of the left hand! (*how contemptible shall they be!*):—and the preceders *in the way to good fortune* (*namely the prophets*)—*how honourable shall be* the preceders!—These [*shall be*] the

persons brought near [*unto God*], in the gardens of delight: [*they shall be*] a crowd of the former generations, and few of the latter generations (*namely of the people of Mohammad, who shall be the preceders of the past and present peoples*), upon couches of complicated construction, *composed with bars of gold and silver,* reclining thereon, facing one another. Youths destined to continue for ever *in boyhood* shall go round about unto them with goblets without handles, and with ewers, and a cup of flowing wine *issuing from a source that shall never cease:* they shall not be affected with head-ache thereby, nor shall they be inebriated: and with fruits of the [*sorts*] which they shall choose, and the flesh of birds of the [*kinds*] which they shall desire. And damsels with eyes intensely black and white, large-eyed, like pearls laid up, *we will give them* as a reward for that which they shall have done. They shall not hear therein vain discourse, nor accusation of sin; but the saying, Peace! Peace! And the people of the right hand — what [*shall be the state of*] the people of the right hand! [*They shall dwell*] among lote-trees freed from thorns, and ṭalḥ-trees (*the same as the móz*)* loaded with fruit from bottom to top, and [*in*] an *ever*-extended shade, and [*by*] water *ever* flowing, and [*amidst*] abundant fruits not discontinued nor forbidden, and [*upon*] elevated beds. Verily we have created them (*namely, the females with the large black eyes*) by a [*peculiar*] creation, *without generation,* and have made them virgins, beloved of their husbands, of equal age [*with them*], for the people of the right hand, *who shall be* a crowd of the former genera-

* The names of "ṭalḥ" and "móz" are now given to different trees: the former, to the acacia gummifera; and the latter, to the musa paradisiaca, or banana.

tions, and a crowd of the latter generations. — And the people of the left hand—what [*shall be the state of*] the people of the left hand! [*They shall dwell*] amidst burning wind and scalding water, and [*in*] a shade of intensely black smoke, not cool, nor agreeable *in appearance.* For they were, before this, blest with worldly goods, and they persevered in heinous sin (*namely polytheism*), and said, When we shall have died, and become dust and bones, shall we indeed be raised to life, and our fathers, the former generations? Say, Verily the former generations and the latter generations shall be gathered together for the appointed time of a known day, *the day of resurrection.* Then ye, O ye erring, belying [*people*], shall surely eat of [*the fruit of*] the tree of Ez-Zakḳoom, and fill therewith [*your*] bellies, and drink thereon boiling water, and ye shall drink as thirsty camels drink.— This [*shall be*] their entertainment on the day of retribution. (Chap. lvi. vv. 1—56.)

¶ 22. Verily they who have charged our signs with falsehood, and proudly turned from them, the gates of heaven shall not be opened to them, nor shall they enter paradise, until the camel passeth through the eye of the needle; and thus will we recompense the evil-doers. Hell shall be their couch, and over them shall be coverings *of fire;* and thus will we recompense the offenders. But they who have believed, and done good works, (we will not require of a soul to do [*aught*] save what it is able to do,) these [*shall be*] the companions of paradise: they shall remain therein for ever. And we will remove whatever envy was in their breasts *in the world.* Rivers shall run beneath them (*that is, beneath their pavilions*); and they shall say, *when they are settled in their abodes,* Praise be to God who hath directed us to this (*to the*

conduct whereof this is the recompense)! For we had not been [*rightly*] directed, had not God directed us. Certainly the apostles of our Lord came with the truth. —And it shall be proclaimed unto them, This is paradise, whereof ye are made heirs for that which ye wrought. And the companions of paradise shall call out to the companions of the fire, We have found that *reward* which our Lord promised us to be true. Now have ye found that *punishment* which your Lord promised *you* to be true?—They shall answer, Yea. And a crier shall proclaim between them (*that is, between the two parties*), The curse of God be on the offenders, who [*did*] keep *men* back from the way of God (*from his religion*), and seek to render it crooked, they disbelieving in the life to come! — And between them (*namely the companions of paradise and those of the fire*) shall be a partition (*which, it is said, is the wall El-Aaráf*), and upon El-Aaráf (*which is the wall of paradise*) shall be men *whose good and evil deeds shall be equal* (*as stated in the tradition*), who shall know every one *of the people of paradise and of the fire* by their marks (*namely the whiteness of the faces of the believers, and the blackness of the faces of the unbelievers, seeing them because their station is lofty*), and they shall call unto the companions of paradise, Peace be on you! They (*that is, the people of El-Aaráf*) shall not [*yet*] enter it (*namely paradise*), though they shall eagerly desire *to enter it.* (*El-Hasan saith, He will not cause them to desire, save on account of favour which He purposeth to show them. And El-Hákim hath related, on the authority of Hodheyfeh, saying, While they shall be in this state, thy Lord shall come upon them, and shall say, Arise ye, enter paradise; for I have pardoned*

you.) And when their eyes (*the eyes of the people of El-Aaráf*) shall be turned towards the companions of the fire, they shall say, O our Lord, place us not *in the fire* with the offending people. And the people of El-Aaráf shall call unto men *of the people of the fire*, whom they shall know by their marks, saying, Your collecting *of wealth* (*or your multitude*) and your pride have not availed you *against the fire. And they shall also say unto them, pointing to the weak among the Muslims,* Are these they on whom ye sware that God would not bestow mercy? *It hath been said unto them,* Enter ye paradise: [*there shall come*] no fear on you, nor shall ye grieve. And the companions of the fire shall call unto the companions of paradise, Pour upon us some water, or of that *food* wherewith God hath supplied you. They shall reply, Verily God hath forbidden them both unto the unbelievers, who have made their religion a sport and a game, and whom the life of the world deceived.—Therefore this day will we forget them, as they forgot the meeting of this their day, and as they did deny our signs. (Chap. vii. vv. 38—49.)

¶ 23. Verily [*the fruit of*] the tree of Ez-Zakḳoom [*shall be*] the food of the sinner (*namely Aboo-Jahl* and his companions, the great sinners*): like the dregs of oil it shall boil in the bellies, as the boiling of intensely hot water. *It shall be said unto the demons who torment the wicked,* Take ye him, (*namely the sinner*) and drag him to the midst of hell: then pour upon his head [*some*] of the tormenting boiling water. *And it shall be said unto him,* Taste *the punishment;* for thou art the mighty, the

* Aboo-Jahl was one of the chief persons among the tribe of Kureysh, and a bitter enemy of Moḥammad.

honourable, *as thou hast pretended and asserted.* Verily this *punishment* is that of which ye doubted. (Chap. xliv. vv. 43—50.)

¶ 24. Hath the news of the overwhelming *event of the resurrection* reached thee? Countenances (*that is, persons*) on that day [*shall be*] abject, labouring, toiling *in the chains:* they shall endure the heat of scorching fire: they shall be given to drink from a fountain fiercely boiling: there shall be no food for them but of darees (*a kind of thorn, which no beast eateth, by reason of its impurity*): it shall not fatten, nor satisfy hunger. (Chap. lxxxviii. vv. 1—7.)

¶ 25. Verily we have prepared for the offenders (*that is, the unbelievers*) fire, the smoke of which shall encompass them; and if they ask relief, they shall be relieved with water like the dregs of oil, which shall scald *their* faces. Miserable shall be the potion, and evil shall be the couch!—As to those who have believed, and done righteous works, verily we will not suffer the reward of him who hath acted well to perish. For these are gardens of perpetual abode: beneath them [*that is, beneath their pavilions*] shall run rivers: they shall be adorned therein with bracelets of gold, and shall wear green garments of fine brocade and of thick brocade, reclining therein on the thrones. Excellent shall be the reward, and pleasant shall be the couch. (Chap. xviii. vv. 28—30.)

¶ 26. For those who have disbelieved, garments of fire shall be cut out, *and they shall wear them* (*that is, the fire shall encompass them*): boiling water shall be poured on their heads: their bowels shall be dissolved thereby, and their skins: and for them shall be maces of iron, *wherewith their heads shall be beaten.* Whenever they

shall desire to go forth thence (*that is, from the fire*), because of *the* affliction *that shall befal them therein*, they shall be driven back into it *with the maces*, and *it shall be said unto them*, Taste ye the torment of burning.—*But as to the believers, God saith*, Verily God will introduce those who have believed, and done righteous works, into gardens beneath [*the pavilions of*] which run rivers: they shall be adorned therein with bracelets of gold, and with pearls, and their garments therein shall be silk, *which is forbidden unto men to wear in the present world.* (Chap. xxii. vv. 20—23.)

¶ 27. Verily those who have disbelieved in our signs we will cast into fire:* as often as their skins shall be thoroughly burned, we will give them in exchange other skins, that they may taste the torment. (Chap. iv. v. 59.)

¶ 28. Verily the hypocrites shall be in the lowest abyss of the fire, and thou shalt not find for them any defender. (Chap. iv. v. 144.)

* The words here rendered "we will cast into fire," Sale has translated "we will surely cast to be broiled in [*hell*] fire;" but though this may be intended, it is not necessarily implied.

§ XXVI. Miscellaneous Extracts.

¶ 1. Propound unto them (*that is, to the unbelievers, with the believers*), as a parable, two men, on one of whom (*the unbeliever*) we bestowed two gardens of grape-vines, and we surrounded them with palm-trees, and put corn between them. Each of the gardens brought forth its fruit, and failed not thereof at all; and we caused a river to flow between them; and he had abundance. And he said unto his companion (*the believer*), disputing with him, I am superior to thee in wealth, and more mighty in family. And he entered his garden, *with his companion, to go about with him therein, and to show him its excellencies*, being unjust to his own soul, *by his unbelief*. He said, I do not think that this will ever perish, and I do not think that the [*last*] hour will come; and if I should be taken back unto my Lord *in the world to come, as thou pretendest*, I shall assuredly find a better [*garden*] than it, as a result.—His companion said unto him, disputing with him, Dost thou disbelieve in Him who created thee of dust (*for Adam was created of dust*), . . . then completely formed thee into a man? But *as for me, I say*, God is my Lord, and I will not associate any one with my Lord. And why, when thou enteredst thy

garden, didst thou not say, *on thine admiring it*, What God willeth [*cometh to pass*]: There is no power but in God? (*In the tradition it is said, Whosoever hath any good thing given unto him, whether of family or wealth, and saith, on the occasion thereof, What God willeth! There is no power but in God!—he will not see in it aught displeasing.*) If thou seest me to be inferior to thee in amount of wealth, and in number of children, perhaps my Lord may give me [*what will be*] better than thy garden, and may send upon it thunderbolts from heaven, so that it shall become a smooth and slippery ground; or its water may become deep-sunk [*in the earth*], so that thou shalt not be able to draw it.—And his possessions were encompassed *with destruction*, and he began to turn down the palms of his hands *in his repentance and grief* for that which he had expended thereon; for [*the vines in*] it [*were*] falling down upon its trellises; and he said, O! would that I had not associated any one with my Lord!—And there was no party for him to assist him instead of God, nor was he able to defend himself. In that case, *on the day of resurrection*, protection [*belongeth*] unto God, the True. He is the best rewarder, and the best giver of success.—And propound unto them the similitude of the present life. [*It is*] like water which we have sent down from heaven, and the herb of the earth is mixed therewith, and then it becometh dry stubble, which the winds scatter abroad. And God is able to accomplish everything. (Chap. xviii. vv. 31—43.)

¶ 2. O ye who have believed, make not your alms of no effect by reproach and harm, like him who expendeth his wealth to make a vain show unto men, and believeth not in God and the last day. For his similitude is as the similitude of a smooth stone upon which was earth,

and a violent rain hath fallen upon it and left it smooth and hard, *with nothing upon it.* [*Such persons*] cannot have aught that they have gained; *they will not find for it any reward in the world to come, like as none of the earth that was upon the smooth stone is found upon it;* and God directeth not the unbelieving people. And the similitude *of the expenses* of those who expend their wealth from a desire of God's being pleased, and from assurance, on their part, *of being rewarded for so doing,* is as the similitude of a garden upon a hill, on which a violent rain hath fallen, and it hath produced its fruit twofold *in comparison with other gardens:* and if a violent rain fall not upon it, a gentle rain *falleth thereon, and sufficeth it, because of its elevation. Its plants will bear fruit, and grow, whether the rain be much or little: so also will be the expenses of him who hath been mentioned, whether they be much or little.* (Chap. ii. vv. 266 and 267.)

¶ 3. The similitude *of the expenses* of those who expend their wealth in the way of God (*that is, in his service*) is as the similitude of a grain that hath produced seven ears, in each ear a hundred grains: and God will multiply *more than this* unto whom He pleaseth. (Chap. ii. v. 263.)

¶ 4. Those who were left behind in their abode, *on the occasion of the expedition of Tabook,** after *the de-*

* "The expedition of Tabook, a town situate about half-way between El-Medeeneh and Damascus. Mohammad undertook against the Greeks, with an army of thirty thousand men, in the ninth year of the Hijreh. On this expedition the Muslims set out with great unwillingness, because it was undertaken in the midst of the summer-heats, and at a time of great drought and scarcity, whereby the soldiers suffered so much that this army was called the distressed army; besides, their fruits were just ripe, and they had much rather have staid to have gathered them." (Sale.)

† El-Beydáwee, and Jelál-ed-Deen. *Vide* Abulfeda's Vit. Mah. p. 125.

parture of the apostle of God, rejoiced, and disliked employing their riches and their persons in warring in the way of God; and they said, Go not forth in the heat. Say, The fire of hell will be hotter. Had they understood *this, they had not remained behind.* Therefore they shall laugh a little *in the present world,* and *in the world to come* they shall weep much, as a recompense for that which they have gained. (Chap. ix. vv. 82 and 83.)

¶ 5. If ye manifest *supererogatory* alms, good will it be: but if ye conceal them, and give them to the poor, it will be better for you *than manifesting them, and giving them to the rich: (as to the alms imposed by the law, the more excellent way is to manifest them, that a man may be initiated therein, and lest he should be suspected; and the giving of them to the poor is particularly prescribed:)* and it will expiate *some* of your sins. (Chap. ii. v. 273.)

¶ 6. A kind speech, and forgiveness, are better than alms which harm, *or reproach,* followeth. (Chap. ii. v. 265.)

¶ 7. Revile not what they invoke in preference to God (*namely, their idols*), lest they revile God iniquitously, without knowledge. (Chap. vi. v. 108.)

¶ 8. Turn away *evil* by that which is better (*as anger by patience, and ignorance by mildness, and evil conduct by forgiveness*); and lo, he between whom and thyself [*was*] enmity [*shall become*] as though he were a warm friend: but none is endowed with this *disposition* except those who have been patient; and none is endowed with it except him who hath great good fortune. (Chap. xli. vv. 34—35.)

¶ 9. *Verily God commandeth justice (*the profession*

* We have sent down unto thee [*O Muhammad*] the book *of the Kur-án,* as an exposition of everything *requisite in matters of law,* and a guide *from error,* and a mercy, and good tidings *of paradise* unto the Muslims, *the Unitarians.*

of the unity, or equity), and the doing of good (*the performance of the indispensable religious duties, or that thou worship God as though thou sawest him, as said in the tradition*), and the giving [*what is due*] unto the relation; and He forbiddeth wickedness and iniquity and oppression: He admonisheth you that ye may reflect.—*This is said to be the most comprehensive verse in the Ḳur-án, with respect to good and evil.** (Chap. xvi. vv. 91—92.)

* "This verse, which was the occasion of the conversion of 'Othmán Ibn-Maẓ'oon, the commentators say, containeth the whole which it is a man's duty either to perform or to avoid; and is alone a sufficient demonstration of what is said in the foregoing verse. Under the three things here commanded, they understand the belief of God's unity, without inclining to atheism, on the one hand, or polytheism on the other; obedience to the commands of God; and charity towards those in distress. And under the three things forbidden, they comprehend all corrupt and carnal affections; all false doctrines and heretical opinions; and all injustice towards man."[1] (Sale.)

[1] El-Beyḍáwee.

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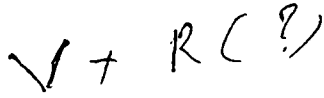

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